



LANGSCAPE

news and views from Terralingua

#20

September 2001



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Terralingua's financial base derives first and foremost from members' donations.

If you have not yet financially supported Terralingua, or have not renewed your membership, we ask that you do so as soon as possible, as our current operating budget barely covers the most basic expenses. We ask for (not require!) a minimum sum of US\$25.- per member per year; more is, of course, most welcome! A donation of US\$100 or more will make you a Donor Member. Organizations can join for US\$35/year. Terralingua is a registered charity in the U.S., so donations are tax deductible. Please send all donations to our Secretary/Treasurer, Mr. David Harmon, at the address in the following text box. We thank all those who have already helped fund Terralingua this year.

Comments and suggestions are welcome, and we do welcome articles and news items for publication. Please send all communications regarding this newsletter to the Editor, Ms. Anthea Fallen-Bailey, either by electronic mail (afallenb@wvi.com) or regular mail (41620 Fish Hatchery Drive, Scio, Oregon 97374-9747, U.S.A.). Membership inquiries should also be sent to Ms. Fallen-Bailey, while membership renewals and fees/donations (if any), as well as general Terralingua correspondence, should be sent to Mr. David Harmon, Terralingua, P. O. Box 122, Hancock, Michigan 49930-0122, U.S.A., or at dharmon@georgewright.org.

Our Web site is available at www.terralingua.org. We thank Dr. Martha Macri, of the Dept. of Native American Studies at U.C.-Davis, for hosting Terralingua's original Web site.



MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

Greetings. If you have been wondering what happened to your June issue of *Langscape*, we wish to assure you that you haven't missed it. As you will learn from the annual reports below, we have been busy setting up some major projects for Terralingua, as well as working through some important events in personal lives, and time flew by. So, we have decided to combine the June information into the September issue; items sent to me before 1 September, 2001 will have the date included. We hope you don't mind, and think that you will find lots of interesting and useful news in the following articles.



TERRALINGUA IN THE NEWS

From: Luisa Maffi <maffi@terralingua.org>

Our ideas continue to attract media attention. Among recent magazine articles including mention of Terralingua and our work on biocultural diversity, and/or pointing to our Web site, are:

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas's important article "Murder that is a Threat to Survival", published in the March 22-28, 2001 issue of *The Guardian Weekly*, vol. 164(13), as a part of a series devoted to "global English".

Ancient Teachings, Modern Lessons, by David Taylor. *Environmental Health Perspectives* 109 (5), 2001, pp. 208-215.

Listening to the Language of the Land, by David Taylor. *Américas* 53 (4), 2001, pp. 38-45.

Language Diversity and the Environment, by Miranda Moore. *The Linguist* 40 (4), 2001, p 117.

Cultural Extinctions Loom. *National Geographic* 200(3), 2001 (no page number, see "EarthPulse" section).

In addition, on 14 August, 2001, Luisa Maffi was interviewed live, along with Payal Sampat of the WorldWatch Institute, on linguistic diversity and language endangerment for the Voice of America "Talk to America" programme. This programme is broadcast and Web cast throughout the world, with listeners calling in. The topic drew so much interest from people on all continents, that by the end of the hour there were still several callers lined up whose calls could not be taken. The range of questions asked showed how keenly people around the world are aware of language issues and seek answers to their language dilemmas, and what great a need there is to provide accurate, exhaustive, and balanced information so that people can have solid ground on which to base their language use decisions. Luisa reports that it made her wish there could be a weekly "listener call-in" programme entirely devoted to this topic!



TERRALINGUA NEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

ANNUAL REPORTS

Terralingua News Update, Fall 2001

Dear Terralingua members, first of all we owe you a sincere apology for skipping the June issue of *Langscape* with no notice. I hope the news I'll give you below will serve both to explain this lapse and to reassure you that we're more alive than ever.

Before I do that, however, I feel the need to pause for a moment to consider the recent events that have so deeply shaken the United States, from which I write, and the entire world. I do not wish to go into a political or sociological analysis of the events. Rather, I wish to first of all express my deepest sympathy and support to any and all of you who may have been directly affected in any way by what happened in New York and Washington. Secondly, I wish to express my keenest hope that reason will prevail over the initial desire for revenge widely manifested in this country, beginning with its leadership, and that non-violent ways of responding to the attacks will be pursued. It will never be truer than in a case like this one that responding to violence with violence will only beget more violence — and the consequences would be ones from which nobody anywhere would be immune. Finally, although it was a dramatic way to be reminded, it is even more evident that the work of organizations that, like Terralingua, seek to promote appreciation and respect for diversity and human rights is more necessary than ever in a world that is still riddled with intolerances, injustices, and inequalities of all kinds. Let us, then, as a community of people who care about the fate of humanity and the planet on which we live, solemnly renew our commitment to seek and promote peace and mutual understanding on this troubled, tragic, yet endlessly marvelous Earth of ours.

As I say this, I can't help thinking of someone who, I'm sure, would have shared this sentiment: our beloved Darrell Posey, whose passing I was profoundly grieved to announce in the previous (March) issue. At the end of April, Darrell's ashes were scattered in the waters of a small, lovely lake near the cottage he used to occupy in Oxford, England. During a heart-rending ceremony I was so very blessed to attend, and whose memory will be with me forever, he thus went back to the water whence all life comes. A later commemoration also took place near the water, this time that of the Pacific Ocean, on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, at the end of May, on the occasion of the Building Bridges with Traditional Knowledge conference, during which Darrell had been asked to chair a session on indigenous peoples and intellectual property rights/traditional resource rights. Maui Solomon, to whom it befell to replace Darrell in this rôle, led participants in prayer and remembrance before starting the proceedings.* As was palpably clear on both occasions, Darrell's love, and the love of Darrell, will be with us forever and guide us to pursue, as best we can, the mission for which he lived and died: making the world a better place.

* Darrell would also have been pleased with one of the outcomes of this session; that is, the establishment of the World Indigenous Coalition for Action (W.I.C.A.N., pronounced "we can"), an indigenous body intended to act as an autonomous voice in international debates on matters of intellectual property rights/traditional resource rights. For further information, contact Maui Solomon <mauisolomon@hotmail.com> or Kelly Bannister <kellyb@telus.net> or Ho'oipo Pa <hoopopa@hawaii.rr.com>.

A few months ago, we in Terralingua were both astonished and elated to find out that our keenness to pursue this mission had not gone unnoticed by a most unexpected observer. Unsolicited by us, last January we were contacted by the Ford Foundation with an expression of interest in our work, as part of a developing focus on language issues within the Foundation. We were told that our work had come to the Foundation's attention as especially innovative and broad-ranging and were invited to present the Foundation with our plans for future work. Be it chance or fate, at that very time we were precisely in the process of formulating such plans, with a focus on what we decided to call Global Biocultural Diversity Assessment (G.B.C.D.A.). We designed this as a multi-year project following up and building upon our earlier collaboration with the World Wide Fund for Nature on the overlaps between the world's biological and cultural diversity and their implications for conservation at both levels (see panda.org/resources/publications/sustainability/indigenous3/eco_intro.htm for downloadable copies of the report and map). We submitted our project to Ford and learned shortly thereafter that it had been approved for funding for Phase 1 (2001-2002), to be devoted to the development of the general framework for the study and to some initial analyses, with results to be presented at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (the "Earth Summit +10") in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2002.

Before we knew it, we were thus suddenly put in a condition, after five years of activities as a non-profit, to move from a "virtual" existence as a group of volunteers to a "real" existence as a funded organization (with a good likelihood of soon establishing a small office in Washington, D.C. — more on this soon). We will, of course, need to actively pursue additional funding in order to be able to continue this "real" existence and develop the later stages of our project. But this is an extraordinary first step that will, we are confident, place us in a good position *vis-à-vis* future fundraising. Needless to say, we feel immensely rewarded for all our efforts and grateful to the Ford Foundation for its interest in and appreciation of our work. Above all, we take this as the most tangible indication so far that the momentum that has been building (and to which we contributed) around the interrelation of linguistic diversity, with all other aspects of the diversity of life, has now reached the threshold of public awareness and that this issue is beginning to be perceived as a legitimate and timely topic for research and action.

I will reserve a fuller discussion of the G.B.C.D.A. for the next issue of *Langscape*. The project's executive summary follows this report. The full text of the project will soon be posted on our Web site (which is in the process of being re-designed and updated by Anthea Fallen-Bailey). For now, I'll only mention that the project will include both global analyses as well as a series of case studies at a regional, national, or local level. Our pilot case study, already in process, is devoted to the biological, cultural and linguistic diversity of the Colorado Plateau ecoregion in the southwest of the United States. Last June, we established a partnership with Northern Arizona University's (N.A.U.) Center for Sustainable Environments (C.S.E.) in Flagstaff, Arizona, directed by Terralingua Advisory Panel member Dr. Gary Nabhan, for the realization of this case study and other projects. The study will be presented at the Earth Summit along with the other initial results of Phase 1 of the G.B.C.D.A. Based on this model, we are discussing various possible additional studies on all continents.

As a part of this partnership with C.S.E., we have been offered office space on the N.A.U. campus, where post-doctoral researcher Dr. Patrick Pynes is acting as Terralingua-C.S.E. liaison and coordinates the production of the case study. Also in June in Flagstaff, Terralingua and C.S.E. co-organized the retreat "Bridging ecological restoration and language revitalization in Native American communities", which was attended by researchers and practitioners in both fields, many of them Native Americans from the Colorado Plateau First Nations. A paper including highlights from this

remarkably stimulating event will also be posted soon on our Web site. For additional information, contact Dr. Gary Nabhan <gary.nabhan@nau.edu> or Dr. Patrick Pynes <patrick.pynes@nau.edu>. The retreat came at the tail end of the Eighth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, "Merging Tradition and Technology to Revitalize Indigenous Languages", organized by another important unit on the N.A.U. campus, the Center for Excellence in Education (Web: <jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL.html>). The potential for synergy between Terralingua and N.A.U. is evident at several levels.

Finally, the G.B.C.D.A. has already attracted even more far-reaching attention. We have been invited to participate in a design meeting of the United Nations' Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (M.E.A.), to be held in Cape Town, South Africa, at the beginning of October. (I write this just before preparing to fly there). The M.E.A. is a major effort to assess the state of the world's ecosystems by gathering and analyzing the best existing information and to recommend policies based on these findings (see <www.millenniumassessment.org>). Terralingua will have an opportunity to bring in our biocultural perspective and to contribute to addressing issues related to the rôle of traditional ecological knowledge in conservation. I will report on this meeting and its outcome, both in general and for Terralingua purposes, in the next *Landscape*.

As you can see, these have been both momentous and busy times for Terralingua, so we hope you'll forgive us for not having kept you, our members, regularly abreast of the situation! We are now striving to consolidate and strengthen our organizational structure in order to more efficiently perform our activities and services. We will keep you informed of this process as well.

I would also like to alert you to the fact that Board election time is coming up. The current Board of Directors, elected at the end of 1997, has served for the statutory three years and is due to step down at the end of this year. The Nominating Committee (Luisa Maffi, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Dave Harmon), formed earlier this month, is now selecting nominees for the following positions: President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and 5 to 9 at-large Board members. According to our by-laws, additional nominations may be made by individual Terralingua members on petition signed by at least 10 individual members and delivered to the chairperson of the nominating committee (Maffi) at least 45 days prior to the opening date of the election balloting period. The balloting period will begin on December 1. Thus you, as members, will be able to submit nominations by petition (according to the mentioned procedure) until October 15. After that date, we will inform you of the nominations received and of the voting procedure.

In conclusion, the future looks promising for Terralingua and the causes we stand for. The following Annual Report will serve as a reminder of what we accomplished in 2000-2001 — with a meager U.S.\$5,000 budget! We are certainly poised to accomplish a lot more now with the Ford Foundation funding in our coffers. As always, though, it is you, the members, who constitute the backbone of our organization. Please make your voices heard at election time! And please also remember that, while we have been so exceptionally fortunate in obtaining funding from a major foundation, we are still far from having ensured our long-term existence and ability to further these causes. Therefore, while your membership will continue to be free, we will continue to count on your generosity in providing donations of any size — be as generous as you can! I'd like to remind you that you can now securely donate on-line on our Web site, using the "Donate now!" button made available to us by E-Grants, a programme of the Tides Foundation. Alternatively, you can always send your checks care of Dave Harmon, our Treasurer, at P.O. Box 122, Hancock, MI. 49930-0122, U.S.A. For U.S. residents, donations either way are tax-deductible charitable contributions. Many thanks once again for your support!

Sincerely,

Luisa Maffi.

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Global Biocultural Diversity Assessment

Executive Summary

The Global Biocultural Diversity Assessment is a multi-year project (2001-2005) that aims to provide the first comprehensive integrated assessment of global biological and cultural diversity (“biocultural diversity”). The project has funding from the Ford Foundation for Phase 1, with results to be presented at the United Nations’ Earth Summit +10 in Johannesburg, South Africa, in September 2002. This project is also linked to the United Nations’ Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, in whose process Terralingua is participating.

The G.B.C.D.A. will consist of three main components: a set of G.I.S.-based analyses of global correlations between biological and cultural diversity; an Index of Biocultural Diversity (I.B.C.D.) measuring trends in biocultural diversity; and a series of sub-global case studies that will look in detail at the links between biological and cultural diversity, with a focus on traditional ecological knowledge and the rôle of local languages in knowledge maintenance and transmission, and on concrete action for joint biocultural conservation at various scales (from regional to local).

The primary use of the G.B.C.D.A. will be as a tool for planning and implementation of biocultural conservation and to identify priority areas and appropriate avenues for action. Internationally, the G.B.C.D.A. will be geared to assisting the Secretariats and States Parties of the major environment-related international conventions, such as the C.B.D., in the implementation of the relevant provisions on preserving and promoting traditional environmental knowledge. Researchers and practitioners working on biocultural conservation in indigenous and traditional communities around the world, including members of such communities themselves, should benefit from this database and from the integrated perspective it will provide, as well as from the conceptual and methodological tools offered by the case studies.

The G.B.C.D.A. will be an interdisciplinary effort calling upon the natural and social sciences, both theoretical and applied, and drawing from collaboration and partnerships with a large number of institutions, organizations, researchers, and practitioners from around the world.

(For additional information, please contact Dr. Luisa Maffi at <maffi@terralingua.org> or +1-202-986-6139 (tel. & fax.), or write to Terralingua at 1766 Lanier Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, U.S.A. Our Web site is <www.terralingua.org>).

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Terralingua Annual Report (1 July, 2000 — 30 June, 2001)

Programme Review

During the year under review, Terralingua continued to carry out its integrated programme of research, applied work, policy and outreach.

Several major works authored or co-authored by Terralingua researchers were published or accepted for publication during 2000-2001:

Oviedo, G., L. Maffi, and P.B. Larsen. 2000. *Indigenous and Traditional Peoples of the World and Ecoregion Conservation: an integrated approach to conserving the world's biological and cultural diversity*. Gland, Switzerland: W.W.F.-International and Terralingua.

Maffi, L. (ed.). 2001. *On Biocultural Diversity: Linking Language, Knowledge and the Environment*, L. Maffi (ed.). Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Maffi, L. and T. Carlson (eds.) forthcoming. *Ethnobotany and Conservation of Biocultural Diversity*. Advances in Economic Botany Series. Bronx, N.Y.: New York Botanical Garden Press.

Harmon, D. forthcoming. *In Light of our Differences: how diversity in nature and culture makes us human*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Among numerous other journal articles and book chapters published by Terralingua Board members were the following two that appeared in two guest-edited issues of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*:

Maffi, L. 2000. "Toward the Integrated Protection of Language and Knowledge as Part of Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Heritage". *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 24 (4): 32-36. Winter 2001 issue, "Culture as Commodity: intellectual property rights", M. Riley and Katy Moran (guest eds.).

Magga, O.H. and T. Skutnabb-Kangas 2001. "The Saami Languages". *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 25 (2): 26-31. Summer 2001 issue, "Endangered Languages, Endangered Lives", E. Moore Quinn (guest ed.).

Plans for Terralingua's Global Biocultural Diversity Assessment (G.B.C.D.A.) were developed in the first part of 2001 and successfully submitted to the Ford Foundation. Implementation of Phase 1 of the G.B.C.D.A. will occur in 2001-2002. During the period under review, activities preliminary to implementation of the G.B.C.D.A. included contacts with numerous institutions with which Terralingua will or is likely to collaborate on the G.B.C.D.A.: Millennium Ecosystem Assessment; Global Environment Facility; World Bank; W.W.F. International and W.W.F.-U.S.; Conservation International; U.S. National Air and Space Agency (N.A.S.A.); U.S. National Academy of Sciences; American Association for the Advancement of Science; Population Action International; S.I.L. International; Linguistics Department, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Germany); Linguistic Society of America; Linguistics Department, Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.); Northern Arizona University (Flagstaff, Arizona); Anthropology Department and Elliott School for International Affairs, George Washington University (Washington, D.C.); Department of Integrative Biology, University of California (Berkeley, California); National Autonomous University of Mexico (U.N.A.M.), Campus Morelia (Morelia, Michoacán, Mexico).

Collaborative links were established with N.A.U.'s Center for Sustainable Environments (C.S.E.), directed by Terralingua Advisory Panel member Dr. Gary Nabhan. The collaboration focuses on efforts to integrate ecological restoration and language revitalization in community-based projects in the Colorado Plateau and on the elaboration of a case study on biocultural diversity in the Colorado

Plateau for the G.B.C.D.A. The bases for this collaboration were established during the retreat “Bridging ecological restoration and language revitalization in Native American communities”, co-organized by C.S.E. and Terralingua and held on the N.A.U. campus on 17-18 June, 2001. A Terralingua-C.S.E. office was established at N.A.U., co-ordinated by a post-doctoral liaison officer. Initial steps for a similar collaborative relationship with George Washington University were undertaken.

In 2000-2001, we continued to follow the development of the Sierra Tarahumara Diversity Project (later re-named Project on Diversity in the Sierra Tarahumara), an initiative of the Mexico-North Research Network taking place in the Rarámuri (Tarahumara) community of Norogachi in the State of Chihuahua, Mexico. During the June 2001 retreat on the N.A.U. campus, we discussed with colleagues from N.A.U.’s Ecological Restoration Institute the possibility of starting a community-based forest restoration project in Norogachi, linked to language and culture revitalization. This possibility will be pursued later this year in Norogachi.

Terralingua also participated in the “Innovative Wisdom” process started by Board member Gary Martin in collaboration with the International Science Council’s (I.C.S.U.) International Union for the Historical and Philosophical Sciences. The purpose was to discuss the relationships between Western science and traditional knowledge, in light of the controversy that followed the U.N.E.S.C.O.-I.C.S.U. Declaration on Science and its affirmation of the relevance of traditional knowledge. Two meetings on this topic were held during the period under review: in October 2000 in Yulee, Florida, and in May 2001 in Honolulu, Hawai’i. Ensuing recommendations were sent to the I.C.S.U. committee in charge of reviewing the issue. A book of proceedings is being edited by Gary Martin. A third meeting was planned for September 2001 in Rome, Italy.

In terms of outreach, we continued to provide services through our Web site and newsletter. An important addition to our Web site was a FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions) page, mostly based on Tove Skutnabb-Kangas’s book *Linguistic Genocide in Education — or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Other means of outreach were correspondence with members and interested others, public speaking at numerous venues, as well as articles, communications, and interviews in magazines, newspapers, and radio programmes. Of special note was Tove Skutnabb-Kangas’s article “Murder that is a Threat to Survival”, published in the March, 2001 issue of *The Guardian Weekly*, vol. 164 (13), as a part of a series devoted to “global English”.

Also of particular resonance was the press release of the W.W.F.-Terralingua report, organized by Gonzalo Oviedo of W.W.F. International in November 2000 in Gland, Switzerland, which generated considerable press coverage around the world. A joint talk by Luisa Maffi, Gonzalo Oviedo and Sarah Christiansen (W.W.F.-U.S.) at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History (Washington, D.C.) introduced the report, as well as Terralingua’s plans for the G.B.C.D.A., to the general public and to invited representatives of various national and international organizations. In February 2001, press attention was also devoted to Darrell Posey’s edited book *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity*, published by the U.N. Environment Programme, which included a chapter on linguistic diversity. The media’s attention was focussed on this book by the extensive reference made to the book by U.N.E.P.’s Executive director Klaus Töpfer during the U.N.E.P.’s General Assembly. Töpfer repeatedly referred to the need to think of conservation in an integrated fashion, jointly addressing the threats to the world’s cultural, linguistic, and biological diversity. In connection to this U.N.E.P. statement, Maffi was interviewed on linguistic diversity and biodiversity during U.N. Radio’s “Scope Magazine” programme (6 March, 2001).

In November 2000, Terralingua co-organized (with Steve Bartz) the video screening "Coevolution: nature and culture" at the Berkeley Natural History Museums (Berkeley, California), a selection of videos on indigenous peoples from all over the world and their efforts to protect and revitalize their languages, cultures, and environments.

Mentions of Terralingua in the media have multiplied beyond our ability to keep track of them. Among those noted during the period under review, Terralingua's Web site was praised, and Luisa Maffi interviewed in Michael Pollack's *New York Times* article "World's dying languages, alive on the Web" (19 Oct., 2000). Terralingua was cited as one of the sources in the *Issues and Controversies on File* article Linguistic Diversity (vol. 5, no. 22, 24 Nov., 2000, pp. 481-488), and mentioned in two articles by David Taylor on environmental issues: "Ancient Teachings, Modern Lessons", *Environmental Health Perspectives* 109 (5), 2001, pp. 208-215, and "Listening to the Language of the Land", *Américas* 53 (4), 2001, pp. 38-45.

Organizational Review

- 1) The organization maintained its corporate registration with the state of Michigan through the filing of the requisite paperwork in September 2000;
- 2) In January 2001, we received from the U.S. Internal Revenue Service the final determination of our status as a non-profit organization, known as 501(c)(3) status;
- 3) Our membership currently stands at 376 members. Our streamlined membership structure no longer distinguishes among membership categories, with the exception of organizational members. As per our by-laws, such members are not eligible to vote in Terralingua Board elections. Of the 363 members, seven are organizations. The geographic distribution of our membership is: Africa 13; Asia 19; Europe 87; North America (incl. Central America & Caribbean) 179; South America 21; Oceania 28; and unspecified country 29 (generic e-mail address only on file). During the first part of 2001, for the first time we were able to offer additional, occasional, membership benefits in addition to the newsletter, in the form of discounts on several publications by Terralingua Board members and others;
- 4) A Board of Directors meeting was held, once again on-line, during the period 10 October-10 November, 2000. This unusually extended period was due to our inability to find a shorter period of time during which all Board members would be available at the same time for e-mail discussion of the agenda. There was only one item on the agenda, that is, consideration of which direction Terralingua should take in its development, in terms of its foci of attention and of the needs to be fulfilled, also in view of starting a decisive fundraising campaign. The results of the meeting were: 1) Terralingua should concentrate on developing research in its own signature domains of biocultural diversity and linguistic human rights; 2) should carry out its own research in this domain rather than research commissioned by others, while making sure that this research is relevant to key policy issues internationally, regionally, and locally; 3) information and education services should be continued mostly through our Web site and newsletter, while advocacy and applied work should focus as much as possible on issues directly related to our research; 4) should develop a fundraising strategy to move from volunteer to funded status;

Dr. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas
 University of Roskilde
 Department of Languages and Culture
 Roskilde, Denmark.

To the Chancellor and Rector, University of Malta:

I am writing on behalf of Terralingua, Partnerships for Linguistic and Biological Diversity. Terralingua is an "international organization devoted to preserving the world's linguistic diversity and investigating links between biological and cultural diversity". Our headquarters are in Washington, D.C., where our President, Dr. Luisa Maffi, is based (I am the Vice-President). Our Web site, with information about our purpose and work, is to be found at <www.terralingua.org>. We work with all other international organisations interested in linguistic, cultural or biological diversity, including U.N.E.S.C.O., U.N.E.P. (the U.N. Environmental Programme) and W.W.F. (World Wide Fund for Nature), and we have just received a major grant from the Ford Foundation for a project on a detailed Global Biocultural Diversity Assessment. Our Board of Directors and Advisory Board consist of some of the most respected researchers in the field worldwide.

We have just heard that the University of Malta is considering elimination of the Maltese language from the list of the entry requirements for prospective law students at the university. We are alarmed at the prospect and seriously ask you to reconsider.

As an organisation devoted to preserving the world's linguistic diversity, we are, of course, concerned with the promotion of the teaching and learning of ALL languages in the world, including Maltese. First, some general considerations.

We would like to remind you of the preamble of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, from 22 June, 1992. The preamble considers "that the right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life is an inalienable right", stresses "the value of interculturalism and multilingualism" and considers "that the protection and encouragement of regional or minority languages should not be to the detriment of the official languages and the need to learn them" but rather "an important contribution to the building of a Europe based on principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity".

Likewise, the positive impact of linguistic diversity for the economy is receiving increasing acknowledgement.

It is especially important to note that supporting interaction between localities and regions will not only help to build a European identity, but pave the way for a stronger European economy which takes account of cultural and linguistic diversity. An economy, even a strong one, based on these principles will not lead to a greater similarity in European ways of life but will instead reinforce the distinctive traditions and characteristics of Europe's localities and regions (from the Preface, by Pascan Maragall Mira, to the book *The Diversity Dividend: language, culture, and economy in an integrated Europe*, by Adam Price, Caitrona O Torna and Allan Wynne Jones, and published by the E.B.L.U.L. (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages).

For Malta, seeking stronger ties with the European Union, encouraging the flourishing of the Maltese language and culture at every possible level is in agreement with the European celebration and encouragement of linguistic and cultural diversity — in addition, it also makes economic sense.

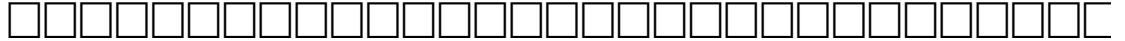
Considering the specifics of competence in the Maltese language at the university level, for students of ALL subjects, we would like to remind you of the fact which many linguistic investigations all over the world support: for the maintenance and, especially, development, of languages, their use in as many domains as possible, is vital. If languages are not used in tertiary education, the terminology and discourses needed are not developed. In many European countries where the official languages are fairly small in terms of number of speakers (e.g., Denmark, Finland, Sweden), we already have the situation in natural sciences where most researchers publish and even study to a large extent in English only (e.g., Britt-Marie Gunnarsson's large studies in Sweden and my and Robert Phillipson's study in Denmark), and where many of them have difficulties in expressing at least some of their knowledge in their own languages. What this means for democratic access to knowledge among the populations of the countries in the long run is, of course, impossible to assess in detail, but the prospects are alarming enough. Therefore, both Finland and Sweden have formulated tentative language policies to protect and promote their own languages and to ensure that the languages are being developed in all domains, including research in all areas (these are on the Internet in case people at your university are interested; a Swedish government-appointed committee, with Professor Björn Melander as the Secretary General, is developing a more detailed policy). It is self-evident in the Nordic countries that there is a requirement for citizens to know the national/official language(s) of the country in order to gain access to university studies or civil service jobs — even foreign students are expected to learn the languages and pass examinations to show this if they want to continue their studies after a period as exchange students. For students of law and history it would be inconceivable not to be able to demonstrate a knowledge of the national language(s) — after all, these subjects are, together with the study of the national languages themselves, among the most "domestic" and country-specific (and therefore also the most important ones from the point of view of maintaining diversity) of all university subjects, quite regardless of their additional European and international aspects. If competence in Maltese is not required at university entry, the signals this sends about the status of Maltese are negative.

On a world-wide scale, Maltese, with has around half a million speakers, is not one of the smaller languages (the median number of speakers of a language is probably around 5-6,000). Still, it is an endangered language because of its small size (in addition to reading, I have discussed the matter with many Maltese colleagues, including with your former Vice-Chancellor at a high-level U.N.E.S.C.O. conference last summer). If its official status is in any way starting to be eroded (and omitting it from the list of required languages would be a big step in that direction), the chances of Maltese to live on as a viable language can be rapidly diminishing. It would be a great pity, for the language of Petro de Caxaro and Dun Karm Psaila, to become a language for domestic use only — this could be one of the middle-term consequences of any status-weakening measures. Many other small countries could use the Maltese example of full official bilingualism as an encouragement — but for this, maximal protection of the Maltese language in all domains is essential. English should not be allowed to replace or displace any more languages in the world — it is learned better as an additive language if the local languages are granted maximal support, also in tertiary education.

Please reconsider.

On behalf of Terralingua
Dr.Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

Vice-President.



Further News on the Ngarrindjeri's Request for Ferry

Original article in *Langscape* #8

Editor's note: you will remember that Terralingua has been following the situation of the Ngarrindjeri's opposition to the construction of the Hindmarsh Bridge, which trespasses on their lands and waters in South Australia [refer to original news in Langscape #8 and subsequent issues]. As you will read in the article below, the bridge is now open, and as a result the possibility of a Ngarrindjeri-run ferry now becomes a critical cultural issue for Ngarrindjeri and proponents of indigenous and non-indigenous reconciliation. We sent faxes of support for the Ngarrindjeri to the Hons. Laidlaw and Brown and to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission. The text of the fax follows. We will keep you informed of any reactions.



Here is the text of the response from The Honourable Diane Laidlaw. There is no date on the letter; the Minister's reference number is 01/TSA00301 and 2000/02838/4:

Dear Dr. Maffi,

Thank you for your letter of 20 March, 2001, regarding the retention of a ferry service to Kumarangk (Hindmarsh Island).

Firstly, I appreciate you taking the time to bring this feedback to my attention.

You may be interested to know that Mr. Tom Trevorrow, Chairperson of the Ngarrindjeri Land and Progress Association Incorporated, wrote to me on 5 December, 2000, seeking consideration for a ferry vessel to be provided to the Association. Mr. Trevorrow also noted he was seeking the assistance of A.T.S.I.C. to undertake a feasibility study into the operation of a ferry service to Hindmarsh Island, at Clayton.

I have responded to Mr. Trevorrow regarding this matter — but at this time I am not aware of the fate of his application to A.T.S.I.C. regarding the proposed study.

In the meantime, it has been necessary to remove the ferry and all associated infrastructure from the Goolwa site following the opening of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge to traffic. This long-standing plan — arising from the Bannan Labour Government's original decision in 1993 to build the bridge — relates to offsetting the cost of the bridge, and subsequent maintenance by removing the ferry service.

The 30-metre ferry vessel, which was located at Goolwa, has been returned to Transport S. A.'s Morgan Dockyard for minor repairs and overhaul. This vessel will then replace one of the nine remaining 18-metre (smaller) ferry vessels in operation at other ferry crossings along the River Murray. This may result in an 18-metre ferry vessel becoming surplus to Transport S. A.'s requirements.

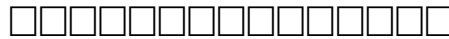
I have been advised that there has been interest shown from a number of parties in obtaining a surplus ferry. Transport S. A. will need to carefully consider all proposals. However, the Government, through Transport S. A., will not support any additional ferry operation outside of its current commitments.

If you have any further queries in relation to this matter, please do not hesitate to contact Transport S. A.'s Eastern Region Operations Engineer, Mr. Adrian Bolton, on telephone number (08) 8532-8155.

I appreciate receiving your comments in relation to this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Diana Laidlaw, M.L.C.
Minister for Transport and Urban Planning.



3 May, 2001

From: Stephen Houston <sjamhouston@yahoo.com>

[Excerpts from a longer message]:

...Here is a message I received from Annette who is working closely with Tom Trevorrow at Camp Coorong. She has indicated here that Tom managed to persuade A.T.S.I.C. (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission) to support the campaign.

Copy of message from Camp Coorong, middle of March 2001:

Hi Stephen,

I have spoken to Tom about the ferry campaign. A.T.S.I.C. is behind it and he suggests that we need to continue to send out letters of support for the Reconciliation Ferry as far and as wide as we can — and to send as MANY as we can to M.Ps. and senators...

Have very many been sent do you know? Also, when answers come to you or others, it would be great if the responses could be sent here to <nlp@lm.net.au> so that N.L.P.A. has a copy of all of this. Tom wants to have on record who we contacted and what they said. This will be important in the long run if the government does not come up with the funds, etc....and the Ngarrindjeri may have to look at other options of funding, e.g., from A.T.S.I.C., etc. I think that targeting marginal seats would be useful.

Also, it is possible to have a stall or table at Reconciliation Week in Victoria square... I think Matt Rigney is looking after this. If we had letters of support at this table AND a petition to be signed by as many as we can find...this will also be helpful.

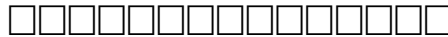
So first actions are to:

1. Step up on letters — hard written and e-mailed to all we can — keeping copies for Tom at N.L.P.A.;
2. target marginal seats;
3. find support for table at Reconciliation Week in Vic. Square — including a petition written and copied out.

...After the [end] of talks at the Candlelit Walk outdoor meeting at Genocide Corner in middle of the city of Adelaide last month, I spoke with a group of people who are taking steps to establish a practical focus for the necessity of the Ngarrindjeri ferry. They are to be doing this at a reconciliation camp on Kumarangk (Hindmarsh Island) and running a boat service ferrying people across the river in spite of the newly opened bridge now being in operation; a very dedicated team who will no doubt be accused of unreasonable, irrational behaviour by cultural detractors of the Ngarrindjeri. I will alert this camp to the aims and purposes of Terralingua as a political partner in their struggle to uphold Ngarrindjeri cultural integrity and influence in their land...correspondence ought to be directed to Tom and his helpers at Ngarrindjeri Land and Progress Association <nlp@lm.net.au>, or via regular mail at:

Ngarrindjeri Lands and Progress Association (N.L.P.A.)
 Camp Coorong
 P.O. Box 126
 Meningie, South Australia.

Tel.: 08 8575 1557
 Fax.: 08 8575 1448



From: www.abc.net.au/news/2001/08/item20010821140600_1.htm

Australian Broadcasting Corporation
 21 August, 2001.

Hindmarsh Island developer's compensation claim denied

The Federal Court has dismissed a AU\$20 million compensation claim made by the developers of South Australia's Hindmarsh Island Marina against the Commonwealth Government.

In handing down the decision, Justice Von Doussa has sparked a major controversy by disagreeing with the finding of a 1995 Royal Commission. The Commission found that local Ngarrindjeri women fabricated their story about secret women's business.

Clapping, cheering and tears erupted in the packed court room as Justice Von Doussa delivered his decision.

He concluded that Tom and Wendy Chapman's company did not suffer any loss as a consequence of the Federal Government's decision to ban the bridge for 25 years in 1994. Significantly, Justice Von Doussa said he was not satisfied that the restricted women's knowledge was fabricated or that it was not part of genuine Aboriginal tradition.

The Ngarrindjeri women say the decision vindicated their stand. Doreen Kartinyeri, one of the women at the centre of the secret women's business, was overwhelmed and not expecting victory.

"My children and my grandchildren and all my people's grandchildren will have an opportunity to learn their culture, respect it and treat it as it is handed down to them from other Ngarrindjeri people," she said. "This is victory for all indigenous people."

The Chapmans refused to comment as they left the court.

Related Links

Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission - Transcript of proceedings available at <library.adelaide.edu.au/gen/H_IsInd/index.html>.

The secret history of Hindmarsh Island — Background Briefing, 17 September, 1995.



GRADUATE SUMMER COURSE

Global English and language rights

June - August 2002

Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

Duration : 6 weeks.

Teaching staff: Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. For details of their publications, see their Web home pages: <babel.ruc.dk/~robert> and <babel.ruc.dk/~tovesku>.

Purpose : The purpose of the course is, with examples worldwide...

- to describe the expansion of English and its implications for other languages;
- to identify factors contributing to the globalisation of English in such key fields as commerce, politics, defence, education, the media and culture;
- to present current and future prospects for linguistic and cultural diversity and biodiversity and assess their interconnectedness;
- to present a human rights approach to language policy and discuss its limitations;
- to present a vision of how English (and other dominant languages) can be used and learned in harmony with other languages, i.e., additively (extending the individual's or group's linguistic repertoire) rather than subtractively (when a language expands at the expense of other languages);
- to introduce theories, methods and approaches from the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, "mainstream" and critical applied linguistics, language policy and planning, human rights law, history, political science, nationalism and ethnicity studies, and ethnobiology, in relation to globalisation, multilingualism, linguistic human rights, language ecologies, and connections between linguistic and cultural diversity and biodiversity.

More information from Sussie Lund, secretary at the International Office: <sl.intoff@cbs.dk>; <www.cbs.dk/intoff/>.



GENERAL NEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE

Encounters at the Brink: linguistic fieldwork among speakers of endangered languages

By Dr. Colette Grinevald¹
Université Lumière Lyon 2 & C.N.R.S., France.

While the other presentations [at this conference] have amply discussed the wider context of language endangerment, considering issues of globalization, marginalisation and attitudes, this presentation discusses the problem of endangered languages from another angle — that of the encounter, on the ground, of field linguists with speakers of endangered languages. This paper will ostensibly concentrate on basic issues of methodology for fieldwork on endangered languages, but will also address, more implicitly, some of the ethical issues involved in this kind of work.

Beyond being convinced of the importance of documenting the diversity of the world's languages before it is too late, and beyond advocating the involvement of the linguistic scholarly community in the task, it is becoming imperative that we openly address issues of methods and ethics pertaining to this line of work. This paper is an invitation to fully integrate the dimension of methods and ethics into the present effort at what Fishman called the need for "intellectualizing" this developing sub-field of linguistics, the one that seeks to attend to all aspects of the situation of endangered languages.

The position taken in this paper is that, while linguistic fieldwork is never an easy task, it happens to become an especially complex endeavour which calls for careful consideration in the particular case of fieldwork on endangered languages. This paper means to address the growing concern that, in the wake of enthusiasm and new dedication to carrying out linguistic work on endangered languages, lack of reflection on methodological and ethical issues could mean that much wasted or possibly harmful fieldwork be embarked upon in a rush of ill-conceived field projects.

Much of what will be said here will most likely appear to be no more than common sense to many experienced fieldworkers who are familiar with this type of field situation and sensitive to its particularities. The main purpose of this paper will, therefore, be to articulate what some of this common sense consists of and what it is meant to respond to, for those unfamiliar with such situations and curious about them. I have chosen to develop three basic aspects of linguistic

¹ Previously Colette Craig. The title of this paper was suggested to me by Nancy Dorian, whom I wish to thank here for her generous sharing of ideas and materials, and whose pioneering work in the field of endangered languages, including its issues of fieldwork, I wish to acknowledge here. I also want to thank Roberto Zavala for all the brainstorming time and effort he invested in its production. While I think of myself simply as a spokesperson for the fieldworker colleagues from various continents with whom I know I share the concerns expressed here (in particular North American, Latin American, European and Australian colleagues on career tracks parallel to mine over the last decades), I am also sure others could have been more eloquent and will take full responsibility for the likely awkwardness and roughness of my own statements. What should be clear is that the issues raised here need to be integrated into any public debate on endangered languages in the interest of those who might be interested in joining in the work.

fieldwork on endangered languages. First is the fact that field linguists working on endangered languages today often find themselves involved in field projects of wider scope than just the linguistic description they feel best prepared to handle. Second is the fact that the linguistic description of many endangered languages requires a data-collecting methodology adapted to this particular type of field situation, which is seldom the one in which linguists receive adequate training. Third is the fact that field linguists ought to be prepared to deal with the common diversity of types of speakers that is characteristic in situations of endangered languages.

1. Types of Linguistic Projects on/for Endangered Languages.

Before addressing specifically the issue of what data needs to be collected to produce a reliable description of an endangered language, the point to be made first is that this type of linguistic fieldwork may be cast today within a wide variety of settings, and that it may be part of a number of different types of language activities. The three types considered here will be labelled (1.1) straight linguistic projects, (1.2) documentation projects and (1.3) language revitalization projects. Although it needs to be said right away that in real life those types of projects can often overlap and be intertwined, it is useful to understand their different nature, as they clearly put different pressures and constraints on the linguists. One way of distinguishing between these major types of projects is to consider the goal and the results expected with each.

1.1. Basic linguistic descriptive work.

Basic linguistic descriptive projects are the kind of projects most familiar to field linguists and the ones most easily validated by the linguistic profession. They involve primarily work in synchronic linguistics which typically (ideally) deals with the triad of grammar + texts + dictionary (G/T/D.). The choice of the term "ideally" is meant to evoke two kinds of imbalance in this line of work. One is the lopsided ratio of publication of the triad G/T/D, which has been calculated at 10/1/3 respectively. The other is connected to this first one of ratio that favors the grammars and comes from the reality of a doubly hierarchical reward system in acadæmic linguistics. In the acadæmicworld, it is a fact that not only is descriptive work valued less than so-called theoretical work, but in addition, within the descriptive framework, dictionaries and text collections are much less valued than grammars.

As the linguistic description of endangered languages will always have to be the most original contribution by linguists, since they are the only professionals trained for this work, this paper will focus on this admittedly narrow scope, but essential contribution, of the linguistic profession. The choice of this narrow focus here is entirely strategic and does not mean to underestimate other goals. Because of my own long term experience with it, from both field and acadæmic perspective, it just happens to be one viewpoint from which to talk about all there is to think about when conducting fieldwork on endangered languages.²

1.2. Language documentation projects.

² As should be clear from reading books such as Fishman 1991 and Nettle and Romaine 2000, a little humility in the overall usefulness of linguists may be called for. Because what linguists know how to do best — writing grammars and dictionaries — may not contribute to much more than the self-perpetuation of the discipline of linguistics and, when not handled appropriately, may even be more of a detriment than a help to the overall goal of language maintenance or revitalisation by the community of speakers.

A new type of field project is emerging today, that of "language documentation projects". It is an approach specifically being developed with the documentation of endangered languages in mind. Although major funding is becoming available for this type of project, much about this type of enterprise remains to be discussed and made more explicit. It would be useful for the general linguistic community and the funding agencies committed to promote and support this kind of projects, for example, to have a better understanding of the nature of the linguistic component of such projects, including the complexities of the kind of fieldwork involved. It could also be useful for linguistic fieldworkers, who have been traditionally trained for narrower-scope linguistic projects, when they have received any training at all for it at that, in their effort to find their place in what are meant to be essentially multi-disciplinary enterprises.

Language documentation as a new field of inquiry is the systematic documentation of linguistic practices, traditions and knowledge of speech communities, of much the same nature as the systematic collection and documentation of other material aspects of the culture such as arts and crafts (Himmelman 1998). Today, the term "language documentation" seems to cover two conceptions of field projects that may be distinguished by the scope of the enterprise, and the relation that holds between documentation and description: as either documentation for description, or as description for documentation.

Within the kind of descriptive framework mentioned earlier, language documentation is conceived, at least initially, in a narrow-scope approach. "Documentation" may take the form of an edited and annotated version of the field databases which have been collected primarily for the production of the traditional triad grammar/texts/dictionary. The wider-scope approach to documentation is based, on the other hand, on a radically expanded primary data collection, which is aided by the descriptive activity of linguists but is essentially carried out by a multi-disciplinary team of fieldworkers (linguists, anthropologists, ethno-botanists/musicologists/historians, etc.). This approach seems to be the one that non-linguists in general, and foundations such as the Volkswagen Foundation in particular, have in mind. It is worth noting in passing that it requires cross-disciplinary connections and networking which have not been traditionally facilitated by academic institutions and are not always easily embraced by linguists.

Rather than viewing these two approaches to the task of language documentation, one of narrow scope and the other of wider scope, it will actually be the position taken here that they should not be opposed, but rather be viewed as successive cycles of one major process. The process would start with an initial documentation which would produce an initial description, this description becoming essential for a wider type of documentation, which itself will allow for a more sophisticated and more comprehensive description, and so on. So that proposals of documentation projects should need to be assessed on the basis of what is feasible for a particular situation at a particular time: whether an initial primary documentation for basic linguistic description, or more encyclopædic documentation only conceivable on the strength of pre-existing primary linguistic description.

1.3. Language revitalisation-preservation projects.

The third type of project in which field linguists working on endangered languages may find themselves involved today are language revitalization and preservation projects, which are, at best, generated and managed by the linguistic communities themselves. As pointedly discussed by Gerds (1998), the rôle of linguists in the overall dynamics of such projects may require humbling re-evaluation and re-adjustment, although, once again, one must keep in mind that the original and

indispensable contribution of linguists remains the analytical study of the language. It may well be that, in such contexts, the most productive approach to the description of the language is the one channelled through the training in descriptive linguistics of linguistic community members, for self-sustaining language work of the kind that can be of use to the community. This means that field linguists double as linguistics teachers, or are hired actually as full-time teachers and supervisors of linguistic work conducted by speakers themselves.

1.4. Multiple demands, but language description at the core.

The point of this first section is that linguistic fieldwork on endangered languages may well be cast today within more encompassing projects of documentation and revitalization, in which case one of the major challenges for the linguistic fieldworker is to manage a demanding balancing act between multiple demands. This issue has been vividly described by Nagy (2000), who describes her fieldwork experience as wearing different "hats": she herself mentions the sociolinguist hat, the theoretical linguist hat, the applied linguist hat and the "techie" hat, and there may be others yet. This balancing act is in fact one of the major field issues for linguists working on endangered languages today. Although it will not be addressed here, it clearly needs serious consideration, if nothing else because of the way it exacerbates the feelings of dissonance experienced by fieldworkers caught between the pressures from acadæmia and the pressures from the field. This sense of deep alienation that may build up in the process of the back-and-forth between the field and acadæmia may in fact result, among other things, in much real mental anguish, uncompleted field projects and unwelcoming communities.

After providing a glimpse of this likely context of multiple demands on the fieldworker in the field, let us now return to the fundamental task for which linguists are responsible — that of the description of endangered languages. The first aspect of this kind of fieldwork to be considered now is that of the specific demands of data collection in situations of endangered languages.

2. Collecting Data for the Description of Endangered Languages.

This paper concentrates on the "people" aspect of the work and will leave to others better suited for the task to articulate the issue of technology, for instance. Although a warning can be given in passing: think twice about uncontrolled enthusiasm for modern technologies, which may be inappropriate for the field and which become obsolete and inoperable more quickly than one ever expected.

2.1. Fieldwork on endangered languages in context.

It may be useful to first consider some general aspects of fieldwork on endangered languages, before considering the actual techniques most appropriate for collecting data from speakers of such linguistic communities.

2.1.1. Consider past and future.

Here are some basic thoughts often overlooked, but which can have a definite impact on the feasibility of a project:

- you may not be the first to work on the language, as other linguists, anthropologists or missionaries may have already worked in that community. You may not know about them (you should enquire ahead of time and while there), but the community will certainly, in some way, hold you accountable for their behaviour. This may account for some difficulty in meeting and working with people.

In Bolivia in 1995, I was expelled from a community that had actually requested the presence of a linguist for a salvage linguistic project (of the last pre-Incaic language of the Andean region of Bolivia: Uru/Uchumatqu), and where I had started working. It happened because of some deep antagonism towards any foreigner that a particular member of the community could not overcome, in a community of 90 people where decisions are by consensus. There were then only two old fluent speakers left, a brother-sister couple, 85 and 87 years old. I was eventually told that the built-up resentment had been exacerbated by the impromptu visit of a team of Japanese geneticists who had taken blood samples of the population a year or two before.

In Nicaragua in the late 1980s, I was sent to work with the Ramas, without being warned that a German anthropologist had worked with them a few years before, at the beginning of the Sandinista Revolution. One of the projects on which he had worked, at the request of the community, was a dictionary. However, he had been expelled from the region for having involved himself in clearly anti-Sandinista activities. This ultimately explained partly the negative attitude to the new Rama Language Project on the part of the men of the island of Rama Cay, his friends and allies. In addition, the publication in Germany a few years later of a very faulty dictionary ended up causing a profound sense of confusion in the mind of the Ramas about their language. The German fieldworker was only a master's degree student at the time he collected data and he had had apparently no linguistics training; he consequently failed at the most basic level of morphological analysis and produced a number of nonsense sentences and absurd translations. (See Craig 1989 for an account of this situation, and the extra work it took to deal with the factionism in the community re-activated by the confusion).

In French Guyana last year, a graduate student of mine, having difficulty establishing rapport with speakers of Emerillon, the language to which she was assigned by a research institute, ended up weeks into fieldwork discovering that another French graduate student from another French university had been in the field the year before, and had so thoroughly displeased the community that he had been asked to leave.

Being aware of previous work may also, on a more positive note, be extremely useful. It may work just the opposite way that doors open because one is considered to be the "sister" of a previous field linguist one may not even know in person but who left a good impression. It also can mean having some language material with which to start working, and which can be useful at key times to trigger the memory of some rusty speakers.

While you may well discover that you were not the first one there, you must, at the same time, project yourself into the future and consider that:

- you may be the one and only, and the last one to work on that language. This means that what you collect is all there will be, unless you can train people to continue collecting material after you leave. Therefore, a major issue to keep in mind in collecting data is that you cannot tell what will be of theoretical interest later in the field of linguistics. This means that you are accountable for collecting all the data you can, even data in which you may not be personally interested because of

your own theoretical leaning and interests. The back and forth between theory and description depends on this wide casting, and while a theoretical framework helps one "see" what is in the language, one must also bear with collecting data of which one cannot make much sense at the time. A very difficult predicament for some people;

- you may not be the last one to work on this language. Always consider how the community of speakers will treat the next visitor partly on the basis of their impression of you; this is particularly crucial in the case of a community of an endangered language, where the last speakers belong to an often fragile and fragmented network of social relations, and exhibit complex speaker dynamics (to be mentioned later). The key factors are that there are very few speakers and that they may have multiple reasons not to want to participate, which the linguist must be able to anticipate, if not handle.

In all cases, it is crucial to consider how the data collected always need to be processed in such a way that future analysis will be possible, as linguistic understanding progresses and other linguists may take an interest in it. Processing data includes transcribing it and providing translations for it, the more detailed the better. Field linguists work with three levels of translation: free translation, literal translation and glossing, a morpheme-by-morpheme translation), the whole process necessitating the collaboration of speakers with certain linguistic talents.

2.1.2. *Working on endangered languages means dealing with continuing loss.*

The notion of loss is pervasive in fieldwork on endangered languages, both in a practical and in a psychological or even emotional sense. The sense of loss takes many shapes, all with some impact on the experience of fieldwork:

- the loss of varieties of language due to the loss of contexts of use, which is the other side of the phenomenon of "language shift", means less opportunities to capture the language in its various forms. It becomes difficult, or impossible, to record certain varieties in their natural settings, since, by definition, less children are learning it, if any at all, less elders are passing on the traditional culture, less ceremonies are performed so that less traditional performing arts can be documented;
- the loss of a critical mass of speakers necessary to maintain a vital linguistic community translates into less of a chance to observe the language in use, to hear it in its natural context, to learn it by immersion, to practice it. In addition, there is a loss of a sense of normalcy and an increased variation in the language typical of those situations. In general, there are less opportunities, often no more opportunities, for the last speakers to gather, certainly no more traditional night gatherings (*veillées* typical of winter nights in many places). The overall lessening of the connections between speakers may even lead to a situation where the speakers themselves are not aware anymore of who else can still speak the language;
- the general loss of knowledge within each variety of speech is often a matter of partial knowledge now being distributed across speakers, so that it might take multiple speakers to re-construct the full system. Such is commonly the case, for instance, with major oral traditions, such as the so-called "Adam's cycle" of the oral tradition of the Rama (Chibcha) of Nicaragua. Often, disconnected chunks of episodes are told without apparent coherent narrative thread, although some dominant episodes may be re-constructed through the narratives of several speakers. Zavala (p.c.) also points to the interesting case of some grammar paradigms being still fully known today by only

one speaker, who may happen to be a semi-speaker. All of this pointing to the imperative need to assemble data from a variety of speakers;

- another form of loss is the ageing of the speakers and the eventual loss of speakers through death. The loss of memory that accompanies old age aggravates the common phenomenon of "language attrition" found with the last speakers of a language who have no opportunity to use the language. In addition, the loss of linguistic confidence very common among the semi-speakers is often an additional psychological stress to be considered, both for the speakers and for the field linguists dealing with it.

2.2. *What needs doing: appropriate methods of data collection.*

As mentioned earlier, fieldwork on endangered languages necessitates appropriate field methods, of the kind practically never taught in university linguistics field methods courses. Yet methods of data collection need to be re-designed if the description of those languages is to have a reasonable level of reliability. Three aspects of the data collecting enterprise will be considered below.

- Reviving settings for natural language use.

Natural data basically means data that is not the product of translation. It may be spontaneously produced, or it may be produced on the basis of certain kinds of verbal, visual or manipulated stimuli. Although this requirement is not really specific to endangered languages, the realities of endangered languages is that possibilities to collect natural data may have become so limited that it becomes an absolute necessity to think of how to establish settings for natural language use. Particular care is required, therefore, to set up contexts in which natural data will be produced, and appropriate techniques need to be developed to this end.

The basic practice is to bring speakers together in order to provide new opportunities for social gatherings and language interaction. Actually, this is much easier said than done in many extreme cases of language endangerment. It requires networking among speakers, maybe organising transportation of disabled people, and providing strategic support for the hosting party. But such gatherings may come to mean a lot to the speakers, while they re-activate the use of their language, and (re)form links between isolated speakers. When doable, it is the most productive approach to (video)taping different kinds of language data.

In some circumstances, as in urban settings, the impossibility of physically gathering last speakers may be partly compensated by using some technology such as conference telephone calls and video links. If nothing else is available, one can also play back recordings of some speakers to others, although this will not necessarily work, as discussed below...

- Obtaining samples of varieties of language use.

The database for the primary grammatical description of the language should include various types of natural data. The most traditional type of data gathered consists of narratives of various kinds, traditional tales and personal narratives. What is being underlined here is that even those narrative texts should be collected in a natural setting, i.e., in the presence of another speaker, to control for the artificiality of talking to a machine. Conversational material is of prime importance as well, although it will require additional transcribing skills.

A more comprehensive documentation project will include instances of formal language such as the one used in religious ceremonies and other performing circumstances (political or other speeches,

community decision making gatherings, etc.), as well as studies of language acquisition. The proper transcriptions, glossing and translations of such additional data will mean that a basic understanding of the language, and preferably a primary linguistic description of it, already be available.

- Dealing with speakers of endangered languages.

Some circumstances mean that it is not always immediately possible to collect even the most basic kind of language data from speakers of endangered languages.

For one thing, there are few speakers with natural talents for analytical linguistic work available. It is worth reminding ourselves how, in any linguistic community, the percentage of speakers that are natural linguists is probably no higher than the percentage of gifted musicians or painters, and at that, may not pass a few percent. One knows, for example, how not everyone is a good story teller (in fact, most of us simply are not), and how some of us have analytic minds and others do not. So the chances are, of course, limited that the few speakers left with whom we can work happen to be some of those few naturally linguistically minded ones. This limitation is, however, mitigated by the fact that the last speakers of a language are also those that may have identified with it the most, and that may have been so naturally attached to it to have kept it alive. But basically, in situations of endangered languages, the last speakers are few by definition, and they are whoever they are, and there is either not much choice or no choice at all for the field linguists as to whom to work with.

Acadæmics always suffer from some state of shock in their first contacts with the reality of speakers, once in the field and away from the protected and artificial setting of university campuses and familiar urban environment. There they have to learn how natural language is indeed for communication and makes little sense outside of some pragmatic context that gives it sense, that the notions of exact repetition, translation and paradigms and of any other paralinguistic activity is not a given. In vital linguistics communities, field linguists go in search of the natural linguists of the community and at best train them to cater to the linguists' planned activities.

But in situations of severely endangered languages, one needs to work with the speakers there are, and those are often older, less agile with the working languages used by the linguists, and less likely to become trained to respond to data-collecting strategies developed for vital languages. Even good speakers may not be able to produce narratives, may never really learn to give an exact translation, and will forever ignore the value of a paradigmatic organisation of knowledge.

Furthermore, one needs to develop ways of triggering the production of natural language beyond the strategy already mentioned of gathering speakers so they can talk to each other. In fact, one usually needs to work with a variety of stimuli, which can be visual, such as pictures or videos, or which can be manipulable objects to be handled in any number of ways, for sorting, commenting, describing to others.

Examples of such stimuli used in cross-linguistic research on specific linguistic traits are, for instance, the "Pear Story" video of W. Chafe (U. of California at Berkeley, U.S.A.) that was meant to track discourse features, or the "Chicken" video of T. Givón (U. of Oregon, Eugene, U.S.A.), that was meant to elicit serialisation data, or the wordless "Mercer Frog Story" children's books that have been used to study adults' and children's narrative skills, in particular by teams supervised by D. Slobin (U. of California at Berkeley). As fieldworkers know, when they are used in communities with no literacy tradition, those stimuli by and large do not produce the kind of data they are meant to elicit, but they can nevertheless be very productive in simply eliciting natural language material. It should not matter that speakers seem to often ignore the story line implicit in sequential arrangement of videos and

books alike, and that they become much more involved in attending to what appear to us to be peripheral information. Comments and discussions about the protagonists way of dressing, the kinds of flowers and animals portrayed, the time of day or season of year it might be, all trigger the production of actual coherent sentences that are good data for a descriptive grammar of the language.

Beyond visual stimuli that are always likely to produce the unexpected in illiterate communities, one can turn to the manipulation of objects as a trigger for the production of language. It is only with long-standing familiarity with the language and the community, and excellent working relations with some of the speakers, that one could expect to provide appropriate stimuli for a particular type of data and collect reasonably reliable data. Some of the better-known cases of the use of such stimuli are the ones that have been developed by the researchers of the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute of Nijmegen³, for instance, in particular those targetting the expression of spatial relations.

The point to be made here about how to collect data in situations of endangered languages is that the methods must be diversified, and that much of the effort must aim at triggering the production of natural sequences of language in the first place. This can be done by providing reasons to talk, such as social gatherings, during which one can introduce shared activities, such as talking about still pictures, videos or handling objects.

2.3. *Why does this need to be said?*

Much of what was said above is actually, if one thinks about it, common sense. In fact, if one takes the time to contemplate the essence of what the situations of endangered languages consist, including having little choice of whom to work with, working with speakers who may be old, isolated, linguistically rusty and insecure, it should follow that we need to consider what the most appropriate methods are to collect reasonably reliable and ample data for an analysis, if we mean to describe the language as it really is.

But although it may be common sense, it needs to be said simply because it is not the commonest way of carrying out data elicitation, by far, although it is hopefully clear that it would be the best way to secure reliable data. The ways in which the methods of data collection mentioned above differ from common practice today include the following:

- they call for working with as many different speakers as are available, and collecting data with more built-in variation than most linguists (and linguistic frameworks) care to handle. For a discussion of the nature of the multi-dimensional linguistic variation inherent to such situations of endangered languages, see Dorian's work. The main argument for working with as many speakers as possible is that knowledge of the language is fragmented and different speakers may preserve different aspects of the language. This is particularly true of the incomplete knowledge of semi-speakers;
- they limit to a minimum and secondary rôle the use of what is probably today the method of data collection most used in the field and most often demonstrated in field methods courses in acadæmia, that of "direct elicitation". Particularly unreliable is the method most used, that of "direct

³ Previously known as the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group; S. Levinson, Director.

translation", that of the linguist asking of the speaker, "how do you say X". The longer the X is, the more certain it is that the answer the speaker will feel obliged to give will be unreliable, unless a long-working relationship has been established and the speaker is a natural linguist who understands the task.

This method can, in fact, become particularly morally objectionable when used with linguistically insecure semi-speakers who are made to feel like failures. It is always objectionable in terms of reliability of data when imposed on neophyte linguistic consultants from illiterate cultures. And it is only because they have made the adjustments necessary to survive in that dominant culture, including a testing approach to knowledge, that linguistic consultants of field methods courses in acadæmia may give the appearance of responding appropriately to direct elicitation. But there is no reason that such questioning should make any sense to a speaker in her/his own home environment; some can be trained to perform, if they are natural linguists, but most will never really be such.

This is not to say that direct elicitation cannot be very useful, but only as a secondary method, at the service of analysing naturally produced language material, and mostly as an exploration of the glossing process of naturally collected text. It must always be handled with great care, with controlled multiple checking and attention to non-verbal information such as body language cues, and only with speakers with whom one has established a productive working relationship;

- they put in question the validity of using pre-designed questionnaires as field elicitation guides. This follows from the above, to the extent that they may be thought to be by some as guidelines for direct elicitation. There is something intrinsically inappropriate in approaching a new language, as yet undescribed, through the grid of a questionnaire. It becomes particularly questionable when the language is an endangered language, in a region about which little is known, at worst when it is one of the many isolate languages still remaining to be described, such as many of the languages of South America.

Again, this is not to say that questionnaires are of no use, but that their use is limited. They make sense, for instance, when checking the particularities of a variant form of a language or group of languages for which there is already a solid linguistic knowledge. They can also make sense for organising already collected and analysed data, and for checking for gaps in data on basic grammatical topics which are of interest to other linguists who are interested in typological, areal or genetic issues. But it should be clear that questionnaires are incapable, in essence, of capturing the genius of a language and are no substitute for a reliable description of the language. In the case of endangered languages, they become very awkward tools that may be close to impossible to actually use with speakers, and certainly cannot handle the nature of the phenomenon of language obsolescence that characterises those situations;

- they also imply a basic work and time commitment that needs to be considered. This kind of fieldwork takes time, and it does not produce publishable kinds of papers or books quickly. A reasonable estimate of the length of time it takes to build a basic database for a reliable description of an endangered language probably runs to about three years, including months in the field and months of data processing and analysis.

It probably needs to be said here, also, how dangerous fieldwork on a very endangered language may be to the career development of a linguist, particularly graduate students and junior faculty, who are the most likely to commit to it. There is no doubt that the work is demanding of time, money and energy (thinking of fieldwork in the Amazon, for instance), and that it is risky in many ways. Risky in

the sense of the dissonance and alienation mentioned before, particularly in the case of linguists involved in major documentation or revitalisation projects. Risky in the sense of relations to the community being subject to quick reversals, risky in the basic sense of not being able to collect much of the database necessary for a thesis or a publication valued in promotion procedures, due to the death of speakers or any other factor. Risky in the kind of data collected not providing the materials expected to enter the theoretical debate arena the way it is set up by linguists working on major vital languages. The acadæmic community of linguists needs to consider those risks and see how best to minimise them, to protect those they send to do the work;

- they also, essentially, and to say it bluntly, select for a certain personality profile of fieldworkers. Although the work on endangered languages in its totality requires all kinds of linguists, with all kinds of personality profiles, since there are many jobs to be done besides actual fieldwork, such as advocacy and archive work, as well as linguistic training and supervising of student fieldworkers. And in addition, just in terms of fieldwork itself, the tasks range from data collection to data processing and data analysis, and some may be good at all those aspects, but they are too few to expect such level of balanced competence of all fieldworkers. The best approach is, therefore, to consider the work as much as possible a matter of team effort, particularly when videoscope documentation projects are conceived. The business of endangered languages should be seen as a collective effort, and particular linguists should be doing what they are best fit to do, so we have the best of all. There are too few of us and the job is too urgent and important, but we must be smart about how we fan ourselves out to deal with the enormity and multi-dimensionality of the task of linguistic description, documentation and revitalisation as best as we can.

In the profile of the kind of field linguist best suited for the kind of data collecting described above — the one that is needed for producing reliable description of endangered languages — is a main character trait to be pondered. It is connected to the fact that much of this approach to fieldwork relies on the ability of the linguist to accept not being in control of the situation, a lack of control which takes many forms. There is the usual lack of control of basic fieldwork, handled differently by each linguist, with subsequent multiple types of work relations. But there is, in the case of work on endangered languages, a much more pervasive lack of control, first of all on when, where and with whom one can work, and later of what one can accomplish with the speakers with whom one works.

Last year [2000], a Colombian linguist returned to the Amazonian area where she had been working for several years with a particular... group, and spent several weeks in the region without locating their exact whereabouts, returning to Bogotá without having done any fieldwork.

Last year, in French Guiana, a French linguist could not go to the village, where the language on which she was scheduled to work was spoken, because of a suicide, which meant that the village had been abandoned. The community was going through several weeks or months of mourning, so no fieldwork was possible.

The fieldwork on the Uru language mentioned above had to take place in the cultural center of the village and the linguist was not allowed to work just with the last two speakers and an interpreter (the working language was Aymara, unknown to the linguist who only spoke Spanish). The public sessions had to be managed by the head of the cultural committee, a weak semi-speaker, in the presence of community members. The tape recordings made were confiscated when the project was aborted.

In addition, and as already mentioned when talking of the issue of data collecting, there is the additional challenge, once the linguist manages to be together with speakers, of controlling the

process of data production. It is best to not think in terms of controlling that process but rather in terms of triggering it and capturing it. One must be patient, one must allow data to trickle in, and one must bear with data one does not know what to do with.

Because of the relation that exists between those speakers and the endangered languages to be considered in the next section, it is also not only ethically but strategically sound, as well, to be particularly aware of the balance of power between the parties, and to give to the speakers as much of a sense of control as possible. It is a matter of relinquishing control as a mark of some intrinsic respect for their knowledge of the language, as an invitation to become invested in the work in whichever way they want to or can, as conscious attention to keeping them as feeling as comfortable and successful as possible.

Relinquishing control is probably one of the most difficult constraints for acadæmics to accept. First-world acadæmia tends to select for, and then preferably promote, highly individualistic and self-motivated "free spirits". They function best within a world that values most highly the pursuit of "basic research" carried out within paradigms partly defined by a culturally-bound sense of efficiency and productivity. All of which can be counterproductive in endangered language field situations, and may well work against the production of reliable and comprehensive linguistic descriptions of those languages. (Much of the above has already been discussed in Grinevald 1997, 1998 and 2000.)

This is not meant in anyway to discourage linguists from contemplating work on endangered languages, only to provide some realistic perspectives as to the nature of the enterprise. The work is important and urgent, and it ought to be the business of all sectors of the profession. Those field linguists available, interested and willing to take on part of the daunting task of documenting as many endangered languages as possible before it is too late, need to be nurtured by the profession. They should be first adequately prepared and trained; then, while doing the work, they should be as well supported as possible — financially, psychologically, and acadæmically — and their place in acadæmia should be assured so that they can pursue this line of work. Unless we commit collectively to all those aspects of nurturance, we really have no business making much of a fuss about saving and documenting endangered languages.

I would, therefore, strongly encourage those engaged in such work to tell those interested in conducting such work, what sense of profound satisfaction and what occasional exhilaration obliterate all the moments of frustrations, confusion and heartache that are an inextricable part of the enterprise. We should all tell our future colleagues in this exciting career how it feels to be opting to be a linguist in the real world, to deal with real languages and real people who can be so grateful and so profoundly proud to contribute to the salvage of their ancestral language. Some of those last speakers may have dreamed of it and may have hoped for it for a long time, and they may indeed be extremely relieved to be given a chance to do it. Any fieldworker can vouch for that human dimension and say how it is priceless, and can communicate to anyone interested to hear about it, its importance in amply making up for all the headaches and heartaches described in the previous sections of this paper. Although, to be honest, one also needs to talk about how to handle the challenge of becoming a tight-rope walker between the ivory tower of acadæmia, where the discipline of linguistics develops, and the realities of the linguistic communities of endangered languages, which will be considered next.

3. Working with Speakers of Endangered Languages.

In the situation of an endangered language, not only are there less and less speakers but, in addition, there are many different types of speakers of the kind that are not found in situations of a fully vital language. And these speakers are characterised by particular traits which linguists must learn to take into account. It is the position of this author that one should operate with a wide-scope conception of what constitutes the linguistic community of an endangered language, and that speakers who might appear to be at the margins of it should be included as much as possible in the process of the documentation and description of such languages. See Dorian (1982) for a statement of this position.

3.1. *Typology of speakers of endangered languages.*

Speakers of a vital language normally present great diversity in their knowledge, attitude and talent for working on their language. Field linguists know that some speakers can be superb linguistic consultants, while working with others can be difficult, sluggish and frustrating. The situation is always much more complex when dealing with speakers of endangered languages, both because of the inherent limitation of choice of speakers with whom to work that has already been mentioned, but, also, as this section intends to point out, because of the types of speakers one is likely to encounter in these situations. What follows is a quick consideration of the types of speakers of an endangered language speaker community and the ways in which this diversity relates to the process of data collecting .

Various attempts at building a typology of speakers of endangered language communities are available in the literature, such as Campbell and Muntzel (1989), Dorian (1981, 1989), Dressler (1978) and Sasse (1992). Grinevald (1997) is an overview of this literature at that point. The intrinsic difficulty in establishing a workable typology of speakers resides in the nature of linguistic community, particularly in the effects of the progressive state of decay of the linguistic social networks and of the reduction of the domains of use of the language. Individual speakers represent as many specific cases of modes of language acquisition, of language maintenance with varying degrees of language attrition, all parameters with often unexpected twists.

Part of the difficulty in building a typology comes from deciding whether to approach the task from a linguistic competence perspective or from a language use perspective; i.e., how well does the speaker know the language vs. how often and regularly does (s)he still use it. The approach taken here is one that attempts to categorise speakers first on the basis of their knowledge of the language, placing types of speakers on a continuum of increased bilingualism that eventually tips the balance from the ethnic language towards the socially dominant language. In some ways such an approach would not be very different from a study of language shift in immigrant communities. However, what makes the situation different in the case of endangered languages is the complex interlocking of multiple factors beyond the level of language competence of a particular speaker, such as his or her mode and extent of acquisition, length and type of exposure to the language, community and personal attitudes.

There seems to be a consensus that the major types of speakers include a primary distinction of three levels of competence — those of fluent speakers, so-called semi-speakers and terminal speakers:

- fluent speakers.

Among fluent speakers one needs to distinguish two sub-categories that have been labelled "old fluent speakers" and "young fluent speakers", although the labels may be confusing, since they do not relate directly to the age of the speaker. "Old fluent" are the traditional speakers raised in that

language alone, and securest in it. "Young fluent" refers to bilinguals who are still fluent in the endangered language but speak it in a somewhat changed form. By the time a linguist arrives, the language may be so endangered that those speakers are in fact some of the older people of the community. Characteristically, the new form of language spoken by these "young fluent" speakers is accepted by the community. As it turns out, discussions of standardisation and revitalisation often involve choosing between older and younger fluent forms of speech to be taught to the learners;

- semi-speakers.

The category of semi-speakers, prominent in Dorian's writing, is the category most emblematic of situations of endangered languages. It is a large category which includes all members of the community with appropriate receptive skills, but varying levels of productive skills. The category includes semi-speakers who can be fluent but whose changed forms of the language are considered mistakes, to weak semi-speakers with a limited ability to produce speech, speech which tends to comprise mainly "frozen" expressions. It is worth noting that it is from this generally larger semi-speakers group that some of the most involved activists of language revitalisation emerge;

- terminal speakers (and rememberers).

These are members of the linguistic community with very limited productive skills, but some passive knowledge. This very limited knowledge can either be the result of a very partial acquisition of the endangered language, with the effect of producing some form of substratum influence on the dominant language, or can be the result of an advanced level of language attrition on the part of once very good childhood speakers. Such speakers should not be overlooked in fieldwork, particularly in efforts at gathering speakers, since they may regain or re-acquire some partial active use and can always help re-constitute a sense of community at organised gatherings. This is without saying how much deep satisfaction they may derive from the renewed contact with the language, provided they are not too psychologically scarred and scared about that language (as in the case of survivors of massacres).

This terminology needs revision: as already noted, the use of the adjectives "old vs. young" fluent speakers can be misleading. In addition, the term "semi-speaker" is sometimes taken so literally that it seems to mostly evoke incompetent speakers, although the category explicitly includes fluent speakers of the kind that is sometimes the main type of speaker readily available for much of the work. Finally, the term "terminal", as well as the term "language death", have been criticised as being politically incorrect.

Dressler (1978) had originally talked of:

- healthy speakers
- weaker speakers
- pre-terminal speakers
- better terminal speakers
- worse terminal speakers

while Campbell and Muntzel (1989) work with the following categories of speakers:

- S = strong, nearly fluent speakers
- I = imperfect but reasonably fluent speakers
- W = weak speakers
- R = rememberers

which Sasse (1992) re-organises as:

- S = rusty speakers
- I and W = semi-speakers

R = both from rusty speakers and of semi-speakers

Here is not the place to sort out this major problem of terminology and typology, but just to acknowledge the existence of a wide variety of speakers and to consider their interactions with field linguists in the building of a database for the description of an endangered language. Because the knowledge of the language may linger on in a fragmented way among the various types of speakers, it is important to consult as many speakers of as many types as possible. Their contributions will be of different types, too, but all are valuable, in terms of time depth, coverage of topics, levels of retention of certain aspects of the language, and eventually the study of the process of language degeneration itself.

Some of what might happen with speakers of an endangered language, in terms of the data collection process, concerns the following:

- the nature of the social fabric of the linguistic community is such that it will take time to identify all the speakers, particularly the isolated ones and the ones who have not been claiming to be speakers;
- Most standard elicitation methods risk confronting semi-speakers with their limitations, resulting in psychologically difficult and even painful situations. This is an additional dimension of stress to not underestimate;
- There may be surprises in the evaluation of the knowledge of a speaker. Dynamics can be set off in such a way that renewed contact with the language may either re-activate some knowledge in case of attrition, or provide opportunities for new (re)acquisition by some semi-speakers;
- knowledge of the language being strongly identified with particular individuals, the common resistance of speakers of illiterate languages to work with language material of others will be exacerbated. Being able to use language material from some speakers with other speakers, either as a trigger for comments, or to ask for help with transcription and translation may take time;
- it may be difficult to record narratives, for a variety of reasons, one of them possibly being that there is no good story teller left among the better speakers.

It remains to be said, of course, that no two field situations of endangered languages are the same, and that the profile of the last speakers of an endangered language community can vary from one extreme to the other. But what is certain is that the feel of an endangered linguistic community is very different from that of a vital linguistic community that we university-trained linguists have been used to.

3.2. Case study: *speakers for a descriptive grammar of Rama (Nicaragua).*

What follows is an illustration of the variety of speakers encountered in a language documentation project for a very endangered language. It is a telling case study that emphasises the difficulty one can encounter in collecting data from any number of speakers, for any number of reasons.

Rama is an extremely endangered language of the Chibchan family still spoken by about 30 old and young fluent speakers on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. A documentation and revitalisation project took place over a period of 10 years starting in 1984, in the context of the Sandinista Revolution that

officially recognised all the indigenous languages of the country. Of the 25 speakers contacted, 12 could not be interviewed. Of the 13 interviewed, actual language data was recorded for 8, but in the end the description of the language, produced 4 years into the project, in 1988, had to rely only on the speech of 2 speakers, one female fluent semi-speaker and one young fluent speaker who was her daughter-in-law.

The wide variety of Rama speakers with whom the linguists' team established contact is fairly typical of such a dire situation of language endangerment. What follows is an account of the type of speakers found. The first one was a fluent semi-speaker, in her late sixties at the beginning of the project. She was an excellent linguistic consultant and the clear Rama Language project leader (see Craig 1992). This was her third serious try at having the Rama language documented by outsiders in over ten years. She is the daughter of the last shaman who "talked to the tigers in the Tiger language" and had learned Rama at aged 10, when she went to live in the jungle with her father and step-mother, both monolingual Rama speakers. Although she could not produce narrative texts at first, she became more comfortable doing so over time and with experience, while she regained higher fluency throughout the project.

The next main language consultant of the project was a young fluent speaker, daughter-in-law of this old fluent semi-speaker. She is the one who provided the bulk of the narrative collection, including fragments of the main oral tradition of the Rama known as "the Adam cycle", and long and vivid personal narratives. Although she had more difficulty at first responding to the linguists' requests for repetition and translation, the descriptive grammar of the language was based principally on the rich language material she provided. Interestingly, her husband, who is also the old semi-speaker's son, and was first a low-fluency semi-speaker, turned out to be a motivated and good language learner. He improved to such a good language proficiency and acquired such sophistication with elicitation methods that he became an interviewer for some of the monolingual speakers at a later point. He was key in the project from the start, as he was the boat captain providing transportation for speakers between the jungle, the island of Rama Cay and the town of Bluefields, and as a leader for the jungle community of remaining speakers.

Two native speakers eager to participate in the project were recorded, but their contributions could not be processed and did not become part of the database for the grammar. One was a young fluent speaker, sister and daily companion of the young fluent female speaker mentioned above, whose texts were not coherent. The other was an old monolingual man who had lived isolated in the jungle for decades and spoke what the others labelled "real Rama". He was considered to be the "best speaker" and agreed to tape interviews on the "old ways" and traditional place names led by the newly fluent male semi-speaker mentioned above. The very animated taping sessions turned into such major social gatherings for Rama speakers who had not been together in a very long time that it seemed that those hours of recordings would constitute the core of the database. Unfortunately that was not the case, as they could never be transcribed either, for reasons that remain unclear to this day. None of the other speakers have been able to repeat what he had said, although his absolutely toothless speech and slurred style had not been an obstacle to intense social interaction, and communication seemed to occur, judging from the laughing and questioning that is recorded.

Several native speakers in the old fluent speaker category were part of some of the activities, but watched and never said anything, or so little, so whispered or mumbled that the data was not usable. The brother of the old monolingual speaker enjoyed being there and smiled and laughed but said nothing, and a married couple of old fluent monolinguals looked consistently bewildered by questions and generally too apprehensive to be pressed, although they had agreed to be interviewed. Direct

interaction with the linguists was not possible, and even the coaching by the Rama semi-speaker interviewer did not help.

Except for the first semi-speaker, the old woman leader of the project, all the above-mentioned speakers lived in the jungle, on the mainland, while the bulk of the Rama community lives now on an island, where the language is practically lost. A search for speakers on the island revealed the presence of several "rememberers", once native and fluent speakers, decades before, who had been traumatized into hiding that knowledge of the language. One was an old woman who, as a teenager, had served as interpreter for her cousin, the old semi-speaker head of the project, when she had gone to live with her father and step mother at age ten. This rememberer denied knowledge of the Rama language for years, although she became eager later to join in activities of the project; but she could not recover much fluency and died a few years into the project. Two young rememberers from Rama Cay, nieces of the leader of the project, also denied any knowledge for years. They had been victims of severe ostracism on the island, which appeared to have traumatized them into extensive language attrition. They never agreed to join activities of the project.

There were also three men on the island of Rama Cay who were said to be speakers, but to only speak it when drunk. Although they had participated some years before in a previous attempt at documenting the language led by a German male anthropologist (see 2.1.1), they had no contact with the project and their actual fluency could not be assessed.

This was a time of war, with government and anti-government allegiances, and refugees of the war on the other side of the border near by, in Costa Rica. A trip to Costa Rica allowed for contact with two more native speakers: one was the brother of the old woman leader of the project. He listened to taped messages from her but communication was difficult and he did not return for years, and when he did, went deep into the jungle. The other was his nephew, a young fluent speaker in his fifties. He was considered by the community of Rama speakers to be their "intellectual" and scholar and was the hope of the team of speakers for several years. They eagerly awaited his return from Costa Rica, where he was involved in political activities. He returned to Nicaragua too late to participate in the grammar project but was later the main consultant for the dictionary project that followed. He did not develop as much ease with grammar elicitation as the first semi-speaker, or text collecting proficiency as the female young fluent speaker, but he was best with dictionary information. He dreamed of taking some language apprentice with him to pass on to him the language he had learned mostly from his uncle, one-on-one, living with him in the jungle.

The revitalisation project within which the grammar project was embedded also involved the participation of a number of terminal speakers on the island of Rama Cay. They participated in some of the community Rama Language project, such as illustration of the dictionary and teaching some Rama to the school children, with material produced by the project. Among them were the nurse of the clinic, the Moravian pastor, several school teachers and some fishermen. There is no telling how many parents of the children taught some Rama in school for years were also rememberers.

What this rundown on participants in the Rama project does not describe are the cycles of excitement and frustration, tediousness and confusion, long hours and incredible bonding that are hidden behind such a listing of type of speakers. Somehow it is the interaction of all those speakers that produced, eventually, a more or less accurate picture of the linguistic community of this very endangered language. The picture was quite different from that of the popular view outsiders had of that community, the belief being that there were just two or three old speakers left. There were, in fact,

many more speakers than believed, at least 32 identified, at different levels of fluency, including several old fluent speakers, several of whom were monolingual.

However, in the end, the fate of the language was sealed all the same, because none of the monolingual speakers happened to have had children, and none of the children of the young fluent speakers are themselves good speakers or are likely to transmit the language. The good speakers were all from an isolated jungle community living in a scattered settlement along a creek, and were severely discriminated against by the much larger community of Ramas of the island of Rama Cay (several hundreds of them). Those had lost their language and were claiming it back, but were very resistant to learn from the jungle Ramas they looked down upon as the "tiger people" who spoke the "tiger language".

Most of this complex field situation is common in such circumstances, but it is most important in closing to underline how both the production of the descriptive grammar of the language, and the apparent success of the larger Rama language revitalisation project of which it was a part, are a tribute to the intelligence and the tenacity of one of them. Miss Nora, Leonora Rigby her full name, is the real Rama language rescuer, a fluent semi-speaker with a vision and the natural talent of linguist (see Craig 1992b).

Finally, a few figures can be given to outline some of the dimensions of the project, as this information seems to be hard to locate sometimes. The production of the Rama grammar took 6 field trips, about 10 months of actual fieldwork after an initial exploratory trip, and 3 years of steady work by a team of three linguists ((Grinevald) Craig, Tibbitts and Assadi), who combined skills in field work, data processing, and data analysis. Although the list of speakers did not do justice to the level of involvement of the community of speakers, the enterprise was clearly cast into an "empowering fieldwork framework" with a clear ethical view of working on the language FOR and WITH the speakers. The circumstances of this project were described in Craig (1992a). Finally, its funding sources were a combination of large and small grants, from the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Grenn Foundation for Anthropological Research and the University of Oregon Research Fund, all of which required regular time and work investment in grant application, grant managing and grant reporting.

Conclusions.

This paper has concentrated on the data-collecting issue for the description of endangered languages, taking into consideration three aspects of it in turn.

The first point was that linguistics fieldwork projects aiming at producing a description of an endangered language are more and more often now part of wider types of projects which themselves may largely overlap: those of documentation and of revitalisation projects. Admittedly, this particular view of the likely type of field situations linguists encounter today may be strongly biased by the author's experience with Native American situations of the Americas (North, Central and South), and may not apply as much to certain other parts of the world (yet). And although it was not developed here, the challenge of thinking through how to best support the fieldworkers who have to balance the often contradictory and pressing, and always time- and energy-consuming demands of both acadæmia and the field, remains to be fully considered.

The second point was that it will always remain the professional linguists' responsibility to produce an analytical study of the language. That is what the profession is about at heart, and one must not lose sight of it, particularly once embarked in wider community projects. As mentioned, training speakers

wherever and whenever possible should always be a priority, particularly to empower those speakers with native talents. It is fundamentally more ethical to share our knowledge with those who are interested in it, but if one needs to drum up other arguments, one can also say that it opens up the possibility of sustainable work, particularly in wider scope documentation projects. Such projects are best conceived as genuinely collaborative projects, best handled by members of the community at ground level; such a setup can in particular provide opportunities to work with speakers to whom field linguists may not have access. So it would appear to be an all-around sound strategy. But it is unfortunately still too rarely embraced as the main approach, probably because it calls for a heavier time investment initially, and it may appear at first to slow down the process of gathering data for a description of the language.

The second section emphasized the need to re-consider methods of data collection. This could be said of all linguistic projects in any case, and of all linguistic field situations, but such a re-consideration becomes crucial when dealing with endangered languages. If the database is to remain the main information on the language in the future, it needs to be as complete as possible, and if the description is to capture the genius of the language and to do so with reliable data, the task is to collect natural language data. But as stated, this is not so easily done with speakers of endangered languages, and a variety of methods were proposed: mainly those of forming gatherings of speakers and of using various types of stimuli. While all the above may sound like common sense and not worth our time, it is obvious that it is not yet the practice of the majority of linguists, as evidenced by the type of data used in publications. Of course, these overall methodologies are nothing new, but have rather been forgotten, as the task of linguistic fieldwork has passed from an anthropological tradition more attentive to such issues, to strictly linguistics circles dominated by a certain approach to theory-building bent on the notions of native intuition and ideal speaker.

The last section addressed the issue of the wide variety of speakers of an endangered language community, and the need to consider them all for the different types of information they can provide on the language, whether linguistic or sociolinguistic. It noted some remaining awkwardness in the terminology in use, such as the terms "old" and "young" fluent speakers, "semi-speakers" and "terminal speakers", and pointed to the intrinsic difficulty in establishing a typology because of the many variables to be handled to account for the uniqueness of each speaker. It called for great care in handling the pervasive condition of linguistic insecurity of the semi-speakers, for human reasons as much as for reliability of data concerns. The case study of one project of language description and revitalisation served the purpose of seeing how some of the issues raised earlier in the paper played themselves out in a particular situation, as unique as all endangered field situations can be, but also as universal as they are in their complexity.

It is hoped that these notes on one of the many aspects of fieldwork on endangered languages will provide material for a necessary confrontation of our discipline with some of the realities of the work it wants to promote.

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Ecolexicography: ecological and non-ecological words and expressions.

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Universidade Estadual do Sudoeste da Bahia, 2001.
Jequié, Bahia, Brazil.

To Iuri Cardoso Oliveira, Elisa Alves Sarmiento and Micael Alves Sarmiento.

My special thanks to Dr. Alwin Fill, Dr. Hermine Penz and Dr. Luisa Maffi; without them this paper would not exist.

Abstract

The paper presents some possible backgrounds to ecolinguistics, as well as its goals; tries to minimally define ecolexicography and ecolexicology; presents the research; and finally shows a sample of the corpus which re-united ecological and non-ecological words and expressions.

1. Some Previous Considerations

I believe that the motivations to genesis of ecolinguistics (as well as ecolexicography and ecolexicology) are direct consequences of some thoughts and events that the 20th. century (at least) brought to light. One of the motivations is a systemic conception of the world — and of science. If I focus on Saussure's linguistics, one of the words frequently used is "system" (and from time to time he uses "structure"), which implies an interrelation between the whole and the part of the system when he equates with a chess game: if one moves a piece in the game, the whole disposition of the game is changed.

The systemic conception may be found in Isaac Newton; however, its general formalization appears with Ludwig Van Bertalanffy, in 1947, when he published *The Theory of Open Systems in Physics and*

Biology. (Other names to be remembered are Alan Mathison Turing, Claude Elwood Shannon, Rudolf Emil Kalman, inter alia). The notion of systems interacts with the notion of ecology, community, etc. Besides quantum physics, the holistic paradigm (or "hyperolism", from the Greek thinker Mihalis D. Rellos), deep ecology (by the ecophilosopher Arne Naess), and chaos theory, hologrammatic theory should be considered to understand some conceptions which are interrelated with — or should be "sisters" and "relatives" — of ecolinguistics. Ecolinguistics' children may be its representatives, colloquia, theories, talks, papers, symposia, etc.

Other additional motivations for the genesis of ecolinguistics seem to be the treatment of language as a self-contained system: if I think of linguistics as an analysis that prescind the context of situation; if I turn to recent reports that show that our ozone layer is threatened; that other animals may disappear if I name them in such a way that will lead them to destruction; if I understand that governmental, religious, entrepreneurial, bureaucratic, philosophic, scientific discourse unceasingly use the implicit, non-said, misformed, subliminal, etc., to transmit information other than the one that really is — information that maximizes destruction, oppression, extinction of species, pollution, corruption, impoverishment. This increases the degree of non-ecological treatment of our Blue Home. And perhaps ecolinguistics may have been brought up and nourished by Copernicus when he saw that our home is but a tiny, obscure world in a corner of our glorious Milky Way — and as such something is to be done to preserve it; or when Descartes proposed a sharp separation between body and mind — but this is a battle field ecolinguists face constantly, as this philosophy deeply denies the dearest accomplishment of the field, namely, the attempt to think of language as a phenomenon that interrelates with our environment — though some still insist on a "neutral", "rational", "logical", "objective", "mathematical" science, as if he/she who develops such a knowledge is not human in its deepest sense. Maybe we should remember Darwin when he saw that the birds of the air, the cattle of the field, the forests of green and the air I breathe are my brothers and my sisters. And we have material to work with as we understand the problems presented by speciesism, growthism, racism, anthropocentrism (and the worst of all as I understand, the anthropic principle, that states that the whole universe came into existence because of the human beings!!!), etc., disseminated in the world by the negative ism-culture.

The points written before may be understood as an attempt to draw a possible contour for the ideas and events that should exist previously in order to give birth to ecolinguistics. However, in terms of localization in time, its beginning may be traced back to the 70s, when Einar Haugen (Professor Emeritus of Scandinavian studies) published *The Ecology of Language*, proposing to treat language as an ecological phenomenon, that is to say, by dealing with the *interactions between any given language and its environment* (apud FILL, 1998). Later, during a conference in Thessaloniki, Michael Halliday, (a linguist who has been proposing a very interesting systemic-functional theory of language, since the 50s), admonished linguists *not to ignore the rôle of their object of study in the growth of environmental problems*, as FILL again points out in his paper *Ecolinguistics — State of the Art 1998*.

2. Some Goals of Ecolinguistics

To deal with language and biological diverse and similar systems;
 to accomplish language criticism;
 to teach ecoliteracy;
 to deal with language and environmental problems;
 to perform theorization about the field.

Naturally, the scope of this exciting field of research encompasses the problems concerning the endangered languages of the world; the critical problem that involves the last speaker of a language; language creation, use, revitalization, death; language prejudice; language imperialism; language planning; elaboration of texts, glossaries, etc., that deal with the problem of language and the environment; language and peace; ecolinguistics and teaching; ecologisation of languages; linguistics rights.

3. *Ecolexicology and Ecolexicography*

This paper is an attempt to bring some information about a research being accomplished at the Universidade Estadual do Sudoeste da Bahia, Jequié Campus, in Bahia, Brazil, which intends to work with language criticism. Such a criticism intends to define — and naturally discuss — some ecological or non-ecological words and expressions taken from various fields of study, and as such it may be called an ecolexicographical research.

I would not like to try to define ecolexicography in detail now, especially when I know that one definition requires a previous one, and this forms an endless chain; however, the notion is in many aspects similar to the traditional (scientific or non-scientific) lexicography, a practice that appears before the recent study in science called lexicology. Lexicology is the knowledge of words, thinking about words, theorizing about words (sorry, but I don't want to discuss the meanders the term implies...) — it is a scientific theory about words, their genesis, forms, definitions, evolution, conservation, decline and disappearance; and lexicography is the practice, how to investigate words, working with words — a technique to elaborate dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopaedias, thesaurus, etc. Ecolexicology and ecolexicography should deal with the same variants and proposals; however, since they add the prefix *eco-*, they would work with words and expressions which play an ecological or non-ecological rôle in language — and naturally in the environment, and would ask questions such as:

- What is the rôle of words in our world?
- How can a word form a new world?
- How can a word contribute to ecologise a language?
- How can one promote ecological words?
- What should a lexicographer, a language planner, a grammarian (and others) do with words which play a non-ecological rôle in our world?
- Should there be any kind of monitoring of words?

4. *The Research*

The research is an attempt to propose an ecolinguistic semantic network drawn according to a more general topic that might be called “ecolinguistic concerns”. The theoretical mosaic/framework that underlies the proposal is multi-referential in its conception (see Jacques Ardoino, *Multiréférencialité*, Université Paris VIII), and as such comprises the dimensions from disciplinarity, to interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity, and will try to touch linguistics, philosophy, physics, biology, traditional knowledge and ecological traditional knowledge, for example. In brief, the proposal pursues the abandonment of atomism and fragmentation (useful as they may be) of this branch of linguistics — which is beautifully expressed in its very name, which describes an integration between *eco-* and linguistics.

The network is primarily a set of undefined words and expressions that possess a strong or weak power to the purposes of survival of our Blue Home as a whole. Words and expressions play an

important rôle in such a process, leading to ecological and non-ecological ways of treating ourselves, the other animals, “nature” (and some say “nature” is flowers, rivers, birds — not myself! I am someone who is “part”, “apart”, who “looks down on”, who chains and dominates “nature”). Likewise our planet, the Earth, the “immense” universe “above” (and some say the Universe is stars, galaxies, black holes — not myself! We are sons and daughters of the Earth and at the same time we are “dust of the stars”). As a first step for the ecolinguistic research the task was to reunite all possible words and expressions; as a second step, ecolinguists, philosophers, biologists, *inter alia*, should take time to define them as a form of proposing a work of ecolinguistics, that is to say, to elaborate a glossary which comprises at least the 600 words and expressions reunited. The task imposes the need to reunite experts in many areas. Such a reunion seems to me to be necessary due to the multi-referential — plural, mosaical — looking at the words and expressions, as the task might be misunderstood, misperformed, if it was to be done by a single person — but the philosophical point of view that underlies the whole research is the most important point to be highlighted: how can one think of interrelations, a web of interconnections, interdependency, non-separativity, chains, networks more than hierarchy, mutuality, multi-referentiality, etc., and stand (and work) alone? The real conception that leads me is a dialogical one: a “point” connected to another “point” to another “point”, the metaphor of the ocean of energy.

5. *The Most General Proposals of the Research*

In brief, the proposals for my ecolinguistic research comprise the following tasks:

- a) To reunite all possible words and expressions;
- b) to define the words and expressions;
- c) to publish the results in the form of a glossary which will be accompanied by an Introduction about “What is ecolinguistics?” and “A study dealing with naming (words and expressions) and deep ecology”;
- d) to talk about ecolinguistics, ecolinguistics and ecolinguistics in symposia, conferences, etc., and especially in my community while conversing with people;
- e) to practice ecolinguistics every second, according to a point of view that begins in myself and extends towards other human beings, other “animals”, vegetation, “nature”, etc., and the “Earth” etc.

6. *A Sample of the Corpus*

Now I would like to present a sample of the words and expressions, from the corpus cited before, which play an ecological or non-ecological rôle. I remind the reader that they are simply quoted without discussion and the definition; however, I will pick a couple of examples in order to classify them as ecological or non-ecological:

A different utopia
 Abstract and concrete
 Acceptability in language
 Activated perception
 Adaptation
 Adaptative system

Advocacy in defense of languages
Agraph languages
All is connected
Ametrical music
Analysis and synthesis
Analytic dissection
Androgenous
Anthropic principle
Anthropocentrism
Anthropolinguistics
Approximation
Category
Cause and effect
Chance and necessity
Chaos
Crisis of fragmentation
Crisis of paradigm
Crisis of perception
Critical Discourse Analysis and Ecolinguistics
Cultural diversity
Declaration of Peace
Declaration of the Earth
Declaration of Vancouver
Declaration of Venice
Deep Ecology
Earth
Ecocriticism
Ecoethics
Ecofeminism
Ecolexicography
Ecolexicology
Ecolinguistic policy
Ecolinguistic research
Ecolinguistic variables
Ecolinguistics
Ecolinguistics and school curricula
Ecolinguistics theory
Ecoliteracy
Ecological Linguistics in contrast to structural models
Ecologically correct
Ecological words and expressions
Ecologisation of languages
Ecology of language
Ecology of mind
Endangered languages
Environmental discourse
Environmental education
Environmental Ecology
Environmental ethics

Environmental metaphors
Environmental philosophy
Environmental problems
He/She in world languages
Holomovement
Holonomy
Holons
Holopraxis
Holoscopy
Holosymphony
Holotropic breathing
Homeostasis
Human Beings
In-oneself
In-oneself-with-the-other
Language as a repository
Language better adapted to...
Language distribution
Language diversity
Language ecology
Language enrichment
Language environment
Language evolution
Language extinction
Language institutionalization
Language learning
Language location
Last speaker of a language
Linguistic education
Linguistic imperialism
Linguistic relativism
Linguistic rights
Manipulation
Maniqueism
Machine and organism
Man-with-nature
Map is not the territory
Materialism
Mathematical language
Matter
Matter as vile and spirit as noble
Mechanicism
Mind and Nature as undivided entities
Mechanistic
Metaphors
Native speaker does not speak well his/her language
Nature
Only in country x people speak right
Only educated people speak right

Only people who write well speak well
 Only prestige forms of the language provide ascension
 Only in region x people speak right
 Reconciliation between masculine and feminine
 Technocracy
 The other animals
 The Universe as galaxies, stars...
 The watch as a metaphor for the organism
 The web of life
 Theoretical Ecolinguistics
 Universe

7. *Classification of some words and expressions*

If we take a sample of the general corpus that has been reunited, we clearly see that there are words and expressions that play an ecological or non-ecological rôle in our individual, social, planetary world (and worlds). As the final part of this paper, let me select the following words and expressions as they appear in the sample and let me classify them as ecological or non-ecological:

a) Examples of ecological rôle

Acceptability in language
 All is connected
 Advocacy in defense of languages
 Anthropolinguistics
 Critical Discourse Analysis
 Declaration of Venice
 Ecological words and expressions
 Ecologization of languages
 Environmental ethics
 In-oneself-with-the-other
 Language evolution
 Linguistic rights
 Map is not the territory
 Mind and Nature as undivided entities
 Reconciliation between masculine and feminine
 The other animals
 The web of life

b) Examples of non-ecological rôle

Abstract and concrete
 Analytic dissection
 Animal
 Anthropic principle
 Anthropocentrism
 Cause and effect
 Crisis of fragmentation

Earth
He/She in the languages of the world
Manipulation
Matter as vile and spirit as noble
Native speaker does not speak well his/her language
Nature
Only in country x people speak right
Only educated people speak right
Universe

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Tulalip Tribes Cultural Ecosystem Stories — recording traditional ecological knowledge for use in natural resource management and planning

The Tulalip Tribes are gathering traditional ecological knowledge on many plants, animals, places and other resources on the Tulalip Indian Reservation and surrounding traditional harvest areas. It is part of an effort to begin incorporating both traditional ecological knowledge and scientific knowledge into natural resource management and land use planning. For this purpose the Tulalip Tribes used the "Cultural Ecosystem Stories" approach⁴, a local, community-driven approach to gathering and organizing traditional ecological knowledge.

The Tulalip Indian Reservation is located at the mouth of the Snohomish River on Puget Sound about 35 miles north of Seattle [U.S.A.]. It was established by the 1855 Point Elliott Treaty for the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, and other bands and tribes of Indians, each with their own distinct identity and culture. Lushootseed, also known as Puget Sound Salish, is the original language spoken in the Puget Sound watershed, but the people along each river refer to their language by a local name (e.g., "Snohomish" in the vicinity of Tulalip).

The treaty forced many to abandon their homelands and settle on the 35 square mile Tulalip Reservation. Under the 1888 Allotment Act the entire reservation was divided into family allotments,

⁴ The concept was developed by Terry Williams of the Tulalip Tribes and is described in a draft workbook: Ankrah, R. et al. 1997. *Cultural Ecosystem Stories: a guide to preparing natural resource case studies*. Unpublished Report. Cultural Ecosystem Stories Workgroup, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, O.P.P.E.

which ultimately led to the sell-off and transfer of Indian land into non-Indian ownership. Despite a concerted effort by the Tulalip Tribes to re-acquire Reservation lands, half of the land remains in non-Indian ownership. Today the Tribe has 3,300 members, of which 1,800 live on the Reservation and many others in nearby communities. About 7,000 non-Indians live on non-Indian land within the boundaries of the Reservation. The fragmented land base, the differences in cultural backgrounds among reservation Indians and the strong non-Indian presence on the Reservation have presented particularly difficult challenges in cultural restoration at Tulalip.

Over many years, salmon and shellfish programs have been the sole focus of research and natural resource management programs at Tulalip. In the early 1970s, along with other Washington tribes, the Tulalip Tribes fought and won a court battle to reaffirm their treaty right to fish. Declining salmon runs prompted the Tribe to build a fish hatchery to supplement the tribal fishery and the recent listing of several threatened salmon runs under the Endangered Species Act, have further intensified their effort to save the salmon.

Within the past decade other resources, such as those used in basketry, carving, healing and ceremonial activities have been regaining importance at Tulalip. The Tribe established a "rediscovery" program and a native language program. The Rediscovery Program supports fiber artists, woodcarvers, dancers and traditional healers in the community, and the language program offers classes for adults and children, both at the tribal language center and in the local K-12 schools. With this increasing interest in culturally important natural resources, the Tulalip Department of Environment decided to begin identifying resources needed in cultural activities and to document information about their use and availability. The aim was to establish a record of culturally significant natural resources at Tulalip and to develop a G.I.S.-based database to assist in decision-making in natural resource management, land use planning and cultural restoration.

The goal of the Tulalip project was to 1) reveal the past by identifying the natural resources, their uses and importance to tribal members; 2) assess the present by discovering the changes in the availability of resources over time; and 3) to find a path to the future by finding out what Tulalip resource users need to continue their activities. To gather this information 15 tribal members were selected and interviewed using the personal interview method. The interviews were recorded on audio or videotape and transcribed.

The most important principle of the "Cultural Ecosystem Stories" approach is that the community produces its own documentation of their relationship to the natural resources in their environment and controls the use of that information.

Every community has developed its own system for understanding and relating to its environment. This system is often stored, practiced and passed on through the customs, stories, and activities of indigenous people and their communities.

Cultural Ecosystem Stories (1997).

In the stories, elders are encouraged not only to talk about their traditional uses of plants and animals, but also about the relationship between themselves, the individual resources, and their environment. This relationship includes practical aspects of everyday living as well as deeply held spiritual beliefs.

Project staff responsible for gathering the information included a non-native project coordinator with professional ties in the community and a Tulalip tribal member interviewer with both professional and

personal connections in the community and Snohomish language skills. Both participated in the interviews. A tribal advisory group was assembled to select project participants. They were directed to choose male and female community members, who had been involved in a cultural activity for a substantial period in their lives and who would be able to talk about how things had changed over time. At Tulalip these activities include fish and shellfish harvest, game hunt, plant gathering for food and medicinal purposes, fiber arts, wood carving, and ceremonial and spiritual activities. The advisory group deliberately chose individuals who they believed were “experts” in those activities and produced a list of names, which project staff used to contact project participants.

Prospective project participants were approached face-to-face to request their permission for an interview. Once they agreed an “information and consent form” was signed containing information about the project, why it was being conducted and how the Tribe was going to use the information.

The interviews were flexible with respect to how topics were covered. The interviewer worked from a list of questions, but each participant chose how to cover the material and naturally contributed most in the areas of their expertise. Project staff tried to make the interviews conversational and fun, because the more at ease the participants felt, the more they talked. We found that lead-in questions such as “what were your favorite childhood activities?” and “who taught you to fish?” are a great way to ease into topics that involve remembering a lot of detailed information. In some interviews staff used plant and animal names and pictures to help participants recall information. Likewise, participants brought items to show how they were made or used or to explain what they meant to them.

Community members were interviewed for 1-4 hours each. Together they mentioned 53 plants, 21 mammals, 36 fish and shellfish, 18 birds, 1 amphibian, several earth/ rock types and many place names. Sixty-eight resources were used for food or medicinal purposes, 7 in the fiber arts, 5 by wood carvers, and 29 for ceremonial and spiritual activities. When asked about what things had changed in their community and environment, participants talked about how 1) the subdivision of land from large land holdings to small lots restricts access to gathering areas; 2) species and habitat are threatened by harvest, urbanization, and other land use practices; 3) traditional ecological knowledge is lost due to non-practice of cultural activities. Participants also offered suggestions for solutions to problems.

Following completion of the interviews, project staff produced a report describing all the resources used in each cultural activity and prepared detailed tables of resources and their uses. In the second phase of this project, this information is being linked to maps of important resources. The report will be used as an “internal” document to inform tribal staff, assist in decision-making and provide interested community members with information on local resources. If circumstances warrant, the Tribe may decide on a case-by-case basis to share certain information with outside agencies or organizations. Copies of the audio and videotapes have been posted with tribal departments and will be a valuable resource for continuing learning, teaching and research activities within the Tribal government and in the community.

The Cultural Ecosystem Stories approach can be tailored by each community to meet its unique information-gathering needs. Where funds are limited, the focus can be narrowed to the most important needs or phased to complete the process over multiple funding cycles. Despite the relatively small group of participants (15) at Tulalip, it was possible to obtain a reasonably complete overview of resource use by carefully selecting the participants. This was evident by how often the same resources were mentioned among participants. We also found that the informal interviewing style was appealing to participants. Many enjoyed recalling the past, and talking about the things

they cared about most. Project participants also felt a sense of ownership and were pleased with their ability to perhaps affect change through their participation and knowledge.

Reference:

Ankrah, Rodges; Liu, Ed; Lombardi, Gabriella; Mittelstaedt, Gillian; Whitney, Janice; Gorospe, Kathy; Regelski, Marlene; Halpin-Nelson, Libby; Martin, Deb; Trainor, Theresa; Kronthal, Mike. 1997. *Cultural Ecosystem Stories: a guide to preparing natural resource case studies*. Unpublished report. Cultural Ecosystem Stories Workgroup, Environmental Protection Agency, O.P.P.E. (available from Tulalip Tribes Natural Resources Department, 7615 Totem Beach Road, Marysville, WA 98721, U.S.A. E-mail: <jgold@tulalip.nsn.us>).



From: <www.indexoncensorship.org/201/ned.htm>.

"Identikit Europe" - Index on Censorship magazine

"Europe is changing from a collection of citizens with individual rights to a mosaic of language groups with collective rights"

By Ned Thomas, May 2001.

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Where language is concerned, the rhetoric of the European Union is pluralist. How could it be anything else? No-one is going to propose the assimilation of its various peoples to one single language. At the level of European institutions, all kinds of compromise take place, but at the level of citizenship the idea of equality prevails and must prevail if Europe is to have legitimacy.

Citizens cannot be treated as inferior because their first language is Finnish or Danish or Dutch. But what of speakers of languages that were accorded a lesser status — or none at all — in the process of constructing nation states? These were once called "lesser-used languages" in Euro-jargon, but now increasingly "regional and/or minority languages".

The relationship between languages and language groups is inevitably a relationship of power, so it is not surprising that the terms we use to describe categories of language have political overtones and implications. "Minority languages" may at first suggest that we are dealing with numbers; Icelandic, a state language overwhelmingly dominant on its own territory, has fewer than half the number of speakers of Welsh, but it is Welsh that is the minority language. Danish is not a minority language in Denmark though it has fewer speakers than Catalan, which is a minority language in three states — France, Spain and Italy (there is a small Catalan enclave on Sardinia).

In some countries, activists prefer to speak of "minoritised languages" — *langues minoritaires* — thus making the point that the group has been turned into a minority by the drawing of boundaries in a particular way, or by the exclusion of a language from education or public administration. They call for "normalisation" of their languages, equality of status with the state language and the ability to live one's life normally through one's own language on one's own territory. A minority language, from this point of view, is one that has less promotion than the state language, but which belongs historically to a given territory within the state.

The term "endangered language" has an ecological ring to it and is mostly used for indigenous languages outside Europe, but sometimes also for the Saterfrisians or the Saami language groups in the far north of Europe. Their tiny size might seem, from afar, to make them the most endangered. But in practice, language is so interwoven with every aspect of political, economic and institutional structures that one cannot decide on the basis of size which is most at risk. A small language group on a clearly defined territory which it does not share with other languages, with a high level of autonomy and guaranteed linguistic rights — such as the 25,000 Swedish-speakers on the Åland Islands in Finland — need not be considered endangered at all.

A small group in a remote area without such guarantees may still survive as a communal language unless it proves fatally vulnerable to the discovery of an oilfield, the introduction of an airbase, the incursion of mass tourism or even the building of a good road. This could well be the factor that wipes out the last Greek-speaking villages in Calabria, the descendants of the Greek colonies of antiquity. Language groups living in a mixed-language situation may, at a particular time, be more endangered than smaller pockets of a dense and cohesive population.

The Sorbs, speakers of two variants of a Slavonic language near the Czech and Polish borders of the former East Germany, mostly live in areas of mixed population alongside German speakers, and their situation, despite a reasonable level of official support, is precarious. But support for the minority language sometimes comes from a much larger group that identifies with a language that it does not speak. Thus, the Basque autonomous area of Spain, where the Basque language was severely repressed in Franco's day, has Spanish as the language of the majority, but this majority has the political will to restore the national language and is having a high degree of success in doing so.

The same phenomenon can be observed at a lower level in my own country, Wales. There are minority language groups whose language is nowhere the language of a state — these include most of those mentioned so far — but there are also minority language groups whose language is a state language in another country. In western Europe one can mention the Danish-speaking group in Germany and the German-speaking groups in Denmark, Belgium and the South Tyrol within Italy. Since the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Slovenes in Austria and Italy have a fully-fledged independent state over the border in Slovenia using their language. The histories of these two types of linguistic minority are in many respects different.

The first type has often been marginalised in the historical process of constructing a centralised nation state, and has never had the support of a state for its culture. The élites of those language groups often played a prominent part in the centralising and imperial endeavour — this was certainly true in the U.K., France and Spain — but the price paid was assimilation to whichever language the central power adopted. At some point, this assimilation was seen to threaten the very existence of the language group and a reaction set in, with movements dedicated to re-establishing their languages in all the fields from which they had been excluded.

In central and eastern Europe and the C.I.S. countries of the former Soviet Union, the concept of "national minority" rather takes over from the purely "linguistic minority". An ethnic and religious, as well as a linguistic, dimension may enter the legal definition and self-perception of the group; indeed, the "ethnic" definition may outlive the linguistic one. By no means all the Volga Germans allowed to migrate to Germany could still speak German, and very few Ingermanlanders (a group speaking a language akin to Finnish in an area close to former Leningrad until dispersed by Stalin) could speak anything but Russian when accepted by Finland.

This emphasis on ethnic group is more alien to western European minorities of the first type, who take pleasure in demonstrating that Chinese, Thai or, indeed, U.S. children have all gone successfully through the Welsh or Catalan school system and become part of the language community. There is one category for which I find no accepted name — it includes Scots and Platt-Deutsch, and possibly Occitan in the southern half of France. On a narrow and purist definition, few people speak these languages all the time — group consciousness is not very strong and neither is the modern spoken standard.

But on a broad definition these are very large groups — sleeping giants who might in certain circumstances mobilise around language. Ulster Scots — a very small group indeed, which few people had heard of ten years ago — ended up being included in the Anglo-Irish Agreement as a counterweight to the Irish language. The distinction between dialect and language will never be settled on a purely academic basis, but will fluctuate with the many political and economic processes in which societies and languages are caught up.

Does it make sense to group these very varied kinds of minorities together at all? Despite very different situations, there are almost always, at the level of individuals and groups, experiences of linguistic discrimination, often producing internalised feelings of inferiority with which virtually every linguistic minority will identify. It is calculated that some 40-50 million European Union (E.U.) citizens have as their language one that is not the official language of their nation state. The many regions where these languages are spoken have considerable representation in the European Parliament, and have had a limited success in keeping the question of linguistic minorities on the agenda.

It is due to pressure by Parliament and the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages that Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, adopted at the Nice Summit in December 2000, states that "[t]he Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity". Article 21 prohibits discrimination, mentioning, among other grounds, language and membership of national minorities. These are very weak references in a Charter that itself has no binding effect — but it represents a small triumph for a view of Europe not as a collection of citizens with individual human rights, but as a mosaic of linguistic groups with collective rights.

The Council of Europe's Charter of Regional and/or Minority Languages is a stronger document, focused wholly on language. It requires undertakings to promote and support the languages in question in areas such as education, media and public life. It also has its weaknesses, of course. States are allowed to sign up at different levels, so have usually chosen the level of their existing provision.

The Charter only moves things forward in those places where minority language groups had few or no guaranteed rights. Politically, it was driven forward with central and eastern Europe in mind, and by the desire to avoid further conflicts such as that in Kosovo which, in its earlier stages, was fuelled by linguistic discrimination.

But once signed and ratified by a country, the Charter is legally binding and should guarantee a minimum of respect for linguistic rights. A majority of E.U. countries (and many outside the E.U.) have signed it, though some are dragging their feet on ratification.

In France, the Constitutional Council declared Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's signature of the Charter unconstitutional, and it is likely to be some years before Greece — the most hostile of E.U. countries

towards its minorities — can be persuaded to conform to an E.U. norm. But even in Greece public opinion is changing. In recent years the U.K. has had a relatively good record in its treatment of its autochthonous, linguistic minorities, but always on an *ad hoc* and concessionary rather than juridical basis. Continental Europe sees itself, naturally, as a mosaic of linguistic groups, each with its own territory, though there may be arguments about where the borders of those territories lie.

The Anglo-Saxon tradition, by contrast, has great difficulty in granting collective rights to a given group on a given territory. Linguistic questions here are constantly confused with race relations, and individual rights with group rights. What is needed is a direct dialogue between immigrant minorities and autochthonous minorities.

Their histories, aspirations and linguistic demands are quite different, but confusing one category with the other — the mosaic with the melting pot — helps no-one. In Europe the re-drawing of state boundaries has been abandoned as a means of settling minority questions. There are too many historical skeletons to commend that approach. The problems that arise are instead addressed through the encouragement of regional autonomy — which has come about for a variety of other reasons as well — and through the guaranteeing of rights by international charters and conventions.

The establishment of regional autonomies solves some problems but can generate others. It has generally been a positive development in Spain, but some minorities are too small to be anything but minorities within very small regions — the Slovenes in Jürg Haider's Carinthia, for example. In other places the regional and administrative structure is organised so as to divide speakers of the same minority language between different administrative areas. In France, for example, the government has resisted re-drawing administrative boundaries so as to establish a Basque *département*; in Italy, Slovenes and Ladino-speakers are divided between different jurisdictions with different levels of rights.

Then again, what of the minorities within a minority language area? Catalunya has accorded very full linguistic rights to Occitan in Val d'Aran.

The Charters are overarching European guarantees. They are, of course, only as good as the monitoring systems established to check on performance — and the political resolve of Europe to deal with offenders. But something is being slowly set in place that may help to right old wrongs and give Europe a better name in the rest of the world.

Ned Thomas is acadæmic director of the Mercator Centre at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, which runs projects concerned with linguistic minorities, media, literature and translation.

The Index on Censorship Web site is supported by the European Commission. Send questions or comments to <rohan@indexoncensorship.org>.



From: Atsuko Tanaka <imadrun@iprolink.ch>

Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples

25 June, 2001.

NOTICE TO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

A Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has been established at the United Nations. The new Forum will discuss all issues relating to indigenous peoples including development, environment, human rights, health, education and culture matters.

The Forum has several unique features:

- * it has a membership composed of 16 experts serving in their individual capacity. Eight of the members will be indigenous persons. This means that non-governmental actors are directly involved in setting the agenda and determining the results;
- * it is a high-level body and will report directly to the Economic and Social Council, and through the Council can make recommendations to all of the U.N.'s departments, organizations and specialized agencies;
- * participation will be entirely open to representatives of indigenous peoples, organizations and nations, making it one of the few places in the U.N. system with open access for communities and concerned individuals;
- * the Forum attempts to bring together the wide range of concerns of the U.N. and contribute to a harmonization of an holistic programme benefiting indigenous peoples. In this respect the Forum may be the forerunner of a new approach to international co-operation.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights has been designated as the leading agency in the U.N. system for the implementation of the Forum. The High Commissioner calls on the support of the non-governmental community to help make the new Forum a success. Non-governmental organizations can help in the following way:

- * inform indigenous organizations and networks with which you are working about the new Forum. Further details about the Forum are contained in E.C.O.S.O.C. resolution 2000/22 of 28 July, 2000;
- * inform indigenous organizations that they can choose a member from their region as a member of the Forum. The High Commissioner is encouraging indigenous peoples to take into account equitable geographic distribution and gender balance;
- * inform indigenous peoples that the names of the proposed indigenous candidates should be sent to the High Commissioner by 1 October, 2001. These names will then be sent to the President of the Economic and Social Council who will nominate the 8 indigenous members;
- * provide information, comments and suggestions to the High Commissioner on how the Forum can be implemented and how your organization can contribute.

Mary Robinson, High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations, 1211 Geneva 10.



From: <ailanyc@abest.com>

Permanent Forum

25 June, 2001.

Dear Indigenous Sisters and Brothers,

Greetings. Please let us share the following information with you. On 19 June, 2001, we were informed by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in New York that:

- there was a recent informal consultation of E.C.O.S.O.C.;
- at that consultation the government of Mexico proposed that Indigenous Issues be included as a separate item for discussion in the E.C.O.S.O.C. agenda;
- the government of Denmark presented a draft resolution which proposed that the first official meeting of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues be held 6-17 May, 2002, either in New York or in Geneva. These dates would allow for the Permanent Forum's report to be considered by E.C.O.S.O.C. at it's July 2002 session;
- the draft resolution states that the eight government seats on the Permanent Forum will be distributed according to the five U.N. regions;
- Africa, Asia and Pacific, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Western Europe and Other Countries — with three rotational seats;
- the draft resolution states that the election of the Indigenous and government experts to the Permanent Forum will take place on 15 December, 2001;
- the draft resolution sets the deadline for the submission of the names of the government experts for 1 October, 2001;
- the draft resolution calls for the U.N. General Assembly to take action on the budget for 2002-2003;
- Ambassador Ivan Simonovic, the Senior Vice-President of E.C.O.S.O.C. who chaired the informal consultation, inquired whether the government of Denmark had consulted the Indigenous Peoples. He was informed that Denmark had consulted the Indigenous Peoples regarding the date of the election of the expert members of the Permanent Forum and the date of the first session of the Permanent Forum.

Please note that the Danish draft resolution makes no mention of the Indigenous Peoples' recommendation to have a separate Secretariat for the Permanent Forum.

American Indian Law Alliance.



From: Senior Staff <senior-staff@nativenewsonline.org>

Grotto Foundation Tries Wider Language Preservation Efforts:
U.S.\$5.6 Million Tagged for Native Languages

15 July, 2001.

Story lead from Victor Rocha...thanks! <www.pechanga.net>.
<www.pioneerplanet.com/news/mtc_docs/79728.htm>.

The Grotto Foundation in St. Paul ([U.S.A.] — which isn't connected with the Shakopee program —is also working to prevent the demise of native languages.

While the foundation has supported efforts to maintain American Indian culture, it stepped up its commitment this year, when it announced a plan to spend US\$5.6 million over 15 years for the preservation of native languages.

Grotto administrators say the master-apprentice program in Shakopee and its goal of bringing language instruction to youths is an example of what they'd like to promote in other communities.

"The bottom line would be to help native communities improve their lives, their conditions," said Gordon Regguinti, co-ordinator of the foundation's language initiative. "When you have the ability to think in various languages ... brain capacity is stimulated more, and I believe that goes a long way. It opens up a new door for students to learn".

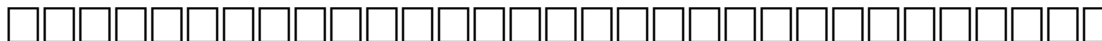
Recently, Grotto's board of directors approved funding for a language immersion camp run by the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, and a unique course run by the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, using instruction in the sport of lacrosse as a language immersion program.

On a larger scale, Regguinti is trying to build on work started by his predecessor at Grotto, Richard LaFortune. Regguinti is now in the early stages of talks with other, larger foundations, including the Ford Foundation, Kellogg Foundation and Lannon Foundation, trying to co-ordinate a wider, comprehensive effort to preserve languages.

"It doesn't happen that often that foundations collaborate, especially the bigger ones," he said. It also would be unique for the Grotto Foundation, a relatively small entity with assets of about US\$34 million.

"We're a mosquito on the back of a water buffalo causing an itch," said Margaret "Peg" Thomas, the Grotto Foundation's executive director.

John Welbes.



From: Megan Crowhurst <crowhurstm@yahoo.com>

17 August, 2001.

The Linguistic Society of America's Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation invites applications for small awards to assist with the costs of transportation to a professional meeting or fieldwork site (not necessarily in the U.S.A.) in connection with work on an endangered language (E.L.), or the cost of publishing a work documenting an E.L. (for example, a dictionary). These awards are intended for:

- (1) members of E.L. communities engaged in linguistic work, language maintenance, and/or language planning;
- (2) graduate students working to document an E.L.;
- (3) E.L. scholars not based in the U.S., Canada, Europe, Australia or New Zealand, and who have restricted access to funds for travel and publishing.

Sums will be awarded in the range of US\$100-\$400, with exact amounts to be decided by the Committee on a case-by-case basis.

Those interested should apply in the form of a detailed (1 to 2 page) letter to the Chair of the Committee at the address below, describing the event or project for which support is requested. Requests should be accompanied by the applicant's curriculum vitae (c.v.), or a written description of the applicant's language-based work and relevant community service activities, as appropriate. Applications may be submitted at any time, but at least two months of lead time should be allowed between sending applications and the date for which funding is needed (especially in the case of applications submitted by regular mail).

Megan J. Crowhurst, Chair, C.E.L.P.
 University of Texas at Austin
 Department of Linguistics
 Calhoun 501
 Austin, TX. 78712-1196. U.S.A.

Applications may be sent by e-mail to: <mcrowhurst@mail.utexas.edu>.



From: Nora England <nengland@mail.utexas.edu>

Indigenous Languages of Latin America — Programmes at U. of Texas

Center for the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (C.I.L.L.A.)

I'm now at the University of Texas, in the Department of Linguistics (and Anthropology as well), where I will be helping to establish a new Center for the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (C.I.L.L.A.). We are principally interested in contributing to the maintenance of Latin American indigenous languages, and hope to be able to bring speakers of these languages to U. of Texas, to study in various programs that have something to do with linguistics or languages, with the idea that

The goals of the Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data (E-MELD) project are to collect data on endangered languages and to devise a Web-based protocol so that new and existing data will be accessible to researchers and native speakers everywhere. The researchers on the E-MELD project will start with 10 distinct endangered languages to design a system that will be versatile, useful and extensible. E-MELD is modeled on the Internet, where standard communications protocols allow users to access information housed on a variety of very different operating systems, including UNIX, Windows-NT, and VMS. [Dave Vannier].

The first version of E-MELD is expected to appear online this fall at: <www.linguistlist.org>.

(For more history on efforts to save endangered languages, contact Mary Hanson, (703) 292-8070).

N.S.F. Custom News Service <www.nsf.gov/home/cns/start.htm>. Please send questions and comments to <webmaster@nsf.gov>.



From: Harold F. Schiffman <haroldfs@ccat.sas.upenn.edu>

New Consortium formed

8 June, 2001.

This Consortium grew out of a panel held at A.A.A. in Philadelphia in 1998.



This is to announce the formation of a Consortium for Language Policy and Planning, to be hosted by the University of Pennsylvania's Penn Language Center and Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict.

The Consortium is an unincorporated assembly of a number of research universities, advocacy bodies, and other scholars interested in issues of language policy and planning.

Research Universities are those with programs involving several scholars, disciplines, departments, or schools focused (in whole or in part) on language policy study. Current members are:

- City University of New York (Graduate Center)
- Long Island University
- New York University
- Stanford University
- University of Pennsylvania

Individual scholars are typically located at institutions without established programs, other than their own research interests.

Advocacy Bodies are organizations, institutes, centers, etc., whose main goal is not research, but are primarily devoted to the advocacy of issues surrounding language policy and conflict.

Mission:

the objectives of the Consortium are to enhance the quality of research, teaching and information-dissemination on the subject of language policy formation and study; to strengthen similarly-oriented programs of its member institutions, and to foster dialogue on the process of language policy formation in situations of ethnic and linguistic conflict in the modern world.

In particular, the Consortium for Language Policy and Planning will have as a primary focus projects that are educational and informational — the Consortium will sponsor workshops, summer institutes, informational and short courses designed to bring to public discussion issues affecting schools and other multilingual sites of contention in contemporary America and other parts of the world.

The Consortium welcomes new members and/or affiliations with similarly-oriented institutions. For more information, consult the Consortium's Web site at: <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/plc/clpp/>.



JOURNAL ANNOUNCEMENT AND CALL FOR PAPERS

La Causa dei Popoli
problemi delle minoranze, dei popoli indigeni
e delle nazioni senza stato

Editor: Alessandro Michelucci, journalist; founder of the Documentation Centre on Threatened Peoples.

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Roberta Marchi, University of Trento

Riccardo Michelucci, expert on Irish affairs, co-editor of *Irlanda Notizie*

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Università di Siena; Parshuram Tamang, Nepal Federation of Nationalities; Colin Tatz, Australian Institute for Holocaust and Genocide Studies; Victoria Tauli Corpuz, Tebtebba Foundation; Ned Thomas, Mercator; Mililani Trask, Ka Lahui Hawai'i; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, University of Auckland; Fernand de Varennes, Murdoch University; Michael van Walt van Praag, International Committee of Lawyers for Tibet; Joseph Yacoub, Université catholique de Lyon.

La Causa Dei Popoli (The Peoples' Cause) is a new on-line journal dealing with all issues related to indigenous peoples, minorities and stateless nations. This new journal is the only Italian one dealing with such topics. The journal will give a voice to researchers, analysts, journalists and indigenous activists. We will publish original work covering a wide range of issues, including:

minority and human rights, self-determination, de-forestation, nuclear colonialism, autonomy, federalism, secession, international relations, treaties and agreements, U.N. and indigenous peoples, settlement and prevention of ethnic conflict, etc.

We will cover all geographic areas.

Subscription is free of charge. The journal will be published four times a year.

Submission of papers

Within the scope of journal identified above, we invite the submission of original papers (2000-3,500 words) and book reviews (400-650 words). Articles in Italian, English, French, German and Spanish are accepted. No particular style is required. All submissions should be sent as e-mail attachments to Alessandro Michelucci at <popoli.minacciati@ines.gn.apc.org>.

Issue 1 includes articles by:

Michael van Walt van Praag
Debra Harry
Helena Nyberg
Moana Sinclair

Francesco Palermo
Giovanna Marconi
Riccardo Michelucci

Issue 2 (out in late July) includes articles by:

Makere Harawira
Zohl dé Ishtar
John Ondawame
Ulla Hasager
Darlene Keju-Johnson

Haunani-Kay Trask
Grant McCall
Vilsoni Hereniko
Anna Paini



From: Gary Krupnick <krupnick.gary@nmnh.si.edu>

[New Web site for Plant Diversity](#)

2 May, 2001.

The Plant Conservation Unit at the Smithsonian Institution is pleased to announce a new Web site: "Centres of Plant Diversity: a guide and strategy for their conservation — Volume 3: the Americas". Published in 1997 by the World Wildlife Fund (W.W.F.) and The World Conservation Union (I.U.C.N.), the book has been re-designed as a user-friendly Web site, available at <www.nmnh.si.edu/botany/projects/cpd/>. The book and Web site were prepared under the coordination of the Smithsonian Institution's Department of Systematic Biology - Botany. The Web site is part of a three-volume work that contains accounts of nearly 250 major sites for conservation of plant diversity worldwide. Volume 3 deals with the Americas, and contains six sites in North America, 20 in Middle America, 46 in South America, and three in the Caribbean. The Web version of the printed volume contains all the same material, including tables, figures and additional pictures.

The rationale for the project is the international concern about the rapid global loss and degradation of natural ecosystems and the urgent need to highlight areas of pristine botanical importance, with the hope that these will receive adequate levels of resources to ensure their protection. The 75 sites have been selected partly on the basis of floristic studies, but especially with reference to the detailed knowledge of over 100 botanists familiar with this region. Each site is set within a regional context, outlining wider patterns of plant distributions, threats and conservation efforts. Regional overviews include very useful tables giving information on species richness and endemism, floristic diversity and endemism by region, degree of threat and an analysis of the conservation status of the sites.

This work is essential reading for all those concerned with planning land use strategies for conservation and appropriate development. It is hoped that this global assessment will be followed by further assessments at the local level, so that the vital tasks of conservation of plant diversity can be well integrated in detail into national and regional conservation and development strategies.

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ANNOTATED LISTING OF INTERESTING / USEFUL SOURCES

From: Deidre d'Entremont <dentremont@cs.org>

Cultural Survival Quarterly, 25:2

Endangered Languages, Endangered Lives

Cultural Survival Quarterly, "Endangered Languages, Endangered Lives".
Summer 2001 issue.

Guest Editor: Eileen Moore Quinn.

Price: US\$5.00 + \$2.50 shipping. Bulk discounts available.

The cover title, "Endangered Languages, Endangered Lives" provides the context for our June issue. Presenting examples from Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas, it is guest-edited by Dr. Eileen Moore Quinn, a linguistic anthropologist who specializes in the Irish language and who teaches at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) in Cambridge, Massachusetts [U.S.A.]. Included are the writings of indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, research activists and scholars, some of whom compare global linguistic "crash" to worldwide loss in ecological bio-diversity. This special *Cultural Survival Quarterly* offers readable material to educators, and provides advice on how to preserve cultural and linguistic heritage.

What this issue demonstrates is that no hard and fast formula for language preservation is likely to emerge. Just as each case has been the result of a unique set of historic and cultural circumstances, so, too, must revitalization or revival efforts be dovetailed to meet the needs and goals of specific linguistic communities. Dialogue and interaction, on the other hand, allow those who work in linguistic preservation to be apprised of constraints and accesses, strengths and liabilities, which propelled or retarded the efforts of others.

Authors:

Marion BlueArm, "Maintaining Lakota on the Cheyenne River Reservation".

Jonathan David Bobaljik, "Language Shift on the Kamchatka Peninsula".

Lucia Clark, "On the Brink-Griko: a language of resistance and celebration".

Deidre d'Entremont, "By Any Means Necessary? Tourism, economics and the preservation of language".

Jessie Little Doe Fermino, "You are a Dead People".

André M. Kapanga, "Recreating a Language: a socio-historical approach to the study of Shaba Swahili".

Joan Smith/Kocamahhul, "For Reasons Out of Our Hands: a community identifies the causes of language shift".

Ole Henrik Magga & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, "The Saami Languages: the present and the future".

Patrick McConvell, "Looking for the Two-Way Street".

Daniel Nettle & Suzanne Romaine, "The Last Survivors".

Gilvan Müller de Oliveira, "Endangered Languages in Town: the urbanization of indigenous languages in the Brazilian Amazon".

Eileen Moore Quinn, "Can this Language be Saved?"

Jon Reyhner, "Cultural Survival vs. Forced Assimilation".

Anna Saroli, "Can Quechua Survive?"

Lindsay Whaley, "The Growing Shadow of Oroqen Language and Culture".

C.S.Q. is the award-winning magazine of Cultural Survival, the international human rights organization for Indigenous Peoples and ethnic minorities. C.S.Q.'s mission is based on the belief that the survival of other ways of life depends on the preservation of their rights in deciding to adapt traditional ways to a changing world. Articles explore the interconnected issues that affect indigenous and ethnic communities, including environmental destruction, land rights, sustainable development and cultural preservation programs.

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Rights to language: equity, power and education.

Editor: Robert Phillipson.

Publisher: Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000; 310pp.

Terralingua discount: 25%

Reviewed by David P. Shea, Keio University, Japan.
Jalt Journal 23 (1), 2001; pp. 163-165.

There is a growing recognition that not only do the world's linguistic resources need to be protected, but that ethnolinguistic minorities have been threatened by the rapid transnational spread of information, media and markets. At the same time, consideration of minority language rights is often excluded from professional discussion about English language education, in part because of the tendency to define language teaching in strictly linguistic terms, divorced from social and political conditions of actual use; and in part because questions of power often prove threatening to English speakers, especially English teachers. It is all too common to hear English uncritically promoted as the world's *lingua franca* and the indispensable means of economic advancement, but these overdrawn formulations make it all the more important for E.F.L. professional to discuss issues of minority language rights. This collection of essays, a festschrift to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, would be a good place to start the discussion.

This book is a richly textured collection of essays written by a startlingly broad range of sociolinguists, discourse analysts, linguists and language teachers who have worked with and/or have been influenced by Skutnabb-Kangas, one of the most impassioned advocates for the linguistic rights of ethnolinguistic minorities around the world. There are 47 contributions that cover a wide range of geographical contexts, from Scandinavia and the U.S. to South Africa and the Pitcairn/Norfolk Islands. All the contributions are short (most are 6-8 pages) and accessible, written in a style that comes from a "distillation" of personal experience, and grounded upon the principles of linguistic diversity and social justice long advocated by Skutnabb-Kangas.

The essays successfully blend theoretical discussion with micro-level case studies of the defense/loss of indigenous and threatened languages. There are too many contributions to mention in a brief review, but some are particularly instructive. Maffi introduces the N.G.O. Terralingua (<www.terralingua.org>) and points out that preserving the natural environment inevitably involves protecting cultural diversity. De Varennes delineates how international law has increasingly come to acknowledge linguistic rights of minority cultural groups.

Chapters by Alexander and Heugh are particularly useful to understand South Africa's constitutional recognition of 11 official languages, and serve to complement Desai's "imagined" conversation with parents cautioning that additive bilingual education is "not a matter of either African languages or English" (p. 176). Jokinen points out that rights of deaf children to education in sign language are neglected in most countries of the world, and even where legally stipulated, the necessary "segregation" of deaf children that would allow peer interaction does not often take place.

Municio-Larsson reviews the 1976 Swedish Home Language Right, which officially recognized mother tongue education, but which has been undermined by ideological resistance and lack of implementation on the local level; and Clyne points out that Australia's multilingual policy, adopted in 1992, has also been attenuated by a utilitarian emphasis on languages with instrumental economic value, coupled with efforts to protect the advantage of the monolingual majority. Annamalai outlines India's constitutional provisions of language rights, yet notes how most government bureaucrats hold the view that minority languages are "not worthy of use in education, and the interests of their speakers [would] be served best by learning the majority language and...ignoring their mother tongue" (p. 91). Similarly, García describes the dominant trend in the U.S. to re-define bilingual education as remedial and transitional, while the concurrent promotion of academic standards has worked to handicap minority language speakers with requirements that conflate standards with standardization.

Not all the essays are critical examinations of involuntary language shift and discursive practices that have "excluded or marginalised" ethnic minorities, rendering them invisible and reproducing discrimination (van Dijk, Hussain). Some are encouraging reports of attempts to promote additive bilingualism. Pura describes Finnish parents in Sweden who established their own Finnish-medium elementary schools to develop a "strong bilingual, bicultural identity" (p. 221), and Huss describes her own family's efforts, in the face of warnings from "unsympathetic doctors and teachers" (p. 188), to raise her children bilingually. Cummins introduces three exemplary schools, in New Zealand, the U.S. and Belgium, which "empower" language minority cultural identity by supporting multilingual language development. But it is Vuolab's personal insight that is perhaps most moving:

"In my young days people used to command us not to speak or use my mother tongue, the Sami language. We were told we would not even get as far as the nearest airport, in Lakselv, if we used our native language. Now I can inform people who hesitate to use their own mother tongue: the struggle is really worthwhile. You can get to the other side of the Earth by being yourself" (p. 16).

Phillipson's "integrative" chapter concludes the volume, synthesizing the key themes of the collection, and pointing to a non-imperialist model of the linguistic rights that rejects the "invisible and covert" (p. 276) agenda of globalised economy and affirms the rights of all peoples to use and maintain their mother tongue(s) and, at the same time, to learn the wider language(s) of social communication in additive (not subtractive) educational contexts. While this position is a challenge to the "monolingual myopia" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) that infects Japan and most "developed" industrial democracies (what Skutnabb-Kangas terms A-Team countries), Phillipson draws on Said's notion of the "committed intellectual" who shares responsibility to "confront orthodoxy" rather than reproduce it (p. 265).

With its impassioned interdisciplinary focus and truly global scope, this book is an inspiring introduction to the issue of language rights, invaluable for the sociolinguistics classroom as well as the individual scholar interested in engaging more deeply with the challenge of language diversity.

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From: P. L. Patrick <patrickp@essex.ac.uk>

Summary of Non-English Sociolinguistics Textbooks

A summary listing of introductory works on sociolinguistics — written in languages other than English — is available at <privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~patrickp/Courses/SocioTexts.NonEng.html>.

The books fall into two dichotomies: translations, and texts original to the language, on one hand; and on the other, they are either general surveys, or language-/region-specific treatments. I would be happy to receive additions to this list, and — more importantly — brief evaluations of their usefulness, especially by someone who has used any of them to teach. References to book reviews in English linguistics journals would also be welcome.

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From: Joseph J Kerski <jjkerski@usgs.gov>

Digital Atlas Data Available for Central and South America

DDS-62A "Global G.I.S. Database: digital atlas of Central and South America".
Authors: P. Hearn, Jr.; T. Hare; P. Schruben; D. Sherrill; C. LaMar; and P. Tsushima.
Stock Number: 01-DDS-0062A
I.S.B.N.: 0-607-95953-3
Price: US\$32.00 plus \$5.00 handling per order

This U.S.G.S. CD-ROM looks incredibly valuable for people who need digital data in Central and South America. DDS-62A contains a digital atlas of the countries of Central and South America. It is part of a global database compiled from U.S.G.S. (United States Geological Service) and other data sources at a nominal scale of 1:1 million and is intended to be used as a regional-scale reference and analytical tool by government officials, researchers, the private sector and the general public. The atlas includes free G.I.S. software; it may also be used with ArcView software. Customized ArcView tools, specifically designed to make the atlas easier to use, are also included. The atlas contains the following data sets: country political boundaries; digital shaded relief map; elevation; slope; hydrology; locations of cities and towns; airfields; roads; railroads; utility lines; population density;

geology; ecological regions; historical seismicity; volcanoes; ore deposits; oil and gas fields; climate data; land cover; vegetation index; and lights at night.

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From: Matthew McDaniel <akha@loxinfo.co.th>
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Ethnolinguistics — Multilingual dictionary of Ethnology

Ethnolinguistics
LINCOM Scientific Dictionaries 01; approx. 100 pp.
I.S.B.N.: 3 89586 299 1.
Price: US\$40; DM 72; UK£ 24.

German - English - French - Spanish - Portuguese - Russian - Esperanto (with partial consideration of other languages).

For some disciplines there are multilingual technical dictionaries available. For ethnology/ anthropology such a book has so far been missing. Since ethnologists/anthropologists have — for reasons of their subject — a special need for reading literature in different languages, such a dictionary should be highly appreciated. If you are engaged with comparative ethnology/anthropology, you will probably need to read sources in all the great languages of the world. For the ability to compare them, a multilingual technical dictionary will be of considerable use. So it should not be missing in any ethnological or anthropological institute. Some of the ideas treated in this science are usually not found in conventional bilingual dictionaries, such as, from ethnosociology, "couvade"; from economic anthropology "resource management" and "treasuring"; and with regard to hunting, "antbear" and "atlatl"; from technology and ergology, "spindlewhorl"; from religion and science, "transmigration". For words like these a technical dictionary might be of

great value. This dictionary has more than 1,200 entries of ethnological/anthropological interest in German, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and — as far as the words were available — also in Esperanto. The registers for each language help to find the words that are to be translated from one language into another.

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From: Kathryn King <kathryn@multilingual-matters.com>

Current Issues in Language Planning: Volume 1, No. 2

Editorial: Robert B. Kaplan & Richard B. Baldauf, Jr.;
Introduction — Peter Medgyes & Katalin Miklosy: "The Language Situation in Hungary";
Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo: "The Language Situation in Botswana".



Motivation in Language Planning and Language Policy

Author: Dennis Ager (Professor Emeritus, Aston University, Birmingham)

Publisher: Multilingual Matters 119 (MM119); March 2001; 210 pp.

I.S.B.Ns. & Prices:

1-85359-529-2; UK£44.95/ US\$69.95/ CAN\$89.95 (Hbk.)

1-85359-528-4; UK£15.95/ US\$24.95/ CAN\$29.95 (Pbk.)

Key Features

- Covers the three components of motivation: motives; attitudes and goals; and the relationships between them;
- looks at the motivation of policy makers in language planning, and individuals in their own language behaviour.

Description

The aim of this book is to investigate motives for action on language. Seven seem to recur: identity, insecurity, ideology, image, inequality, integration and instrumentality. The author relates those to wider issues of personal and social motivation, discussing the language strategies, plans and policies of a number of individuals, communities and states.

Author Information

Dennis Ager is Emeritus Professor of Modern Languages at Aston University, U.K. His interests lie in the interface between language and society. He is the author of *Francophonie in the 1990s: problems and Opportunities* (Multilingual matters, 1996), *Language Policy in Britain and France: the Processes of Policy* (Cassells, 1996), *Language, Community and the State* (Intellect, 1997) and *Identity, Insecurity and Image: France and language* (Multilingual Matters, 1999).

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From: Vinegrad, Anna <Anna.Vinegrad@pearsoned-ema.com>

Sociolinguistics

Language and Minority Rights: ethnicity, minority rights and the politics of language.

Author: Stephen May, University of Bristol, U.K.

Publisher: Longman; Language in Social Life Series; 2001, 400 pp.

I.S.B.N.: 0-582-40455-X (paperback)

Price: UK£19.99

In this provocative and ground-breaking book, Stephen May argues for a major reappraisal of the long-held constructivist consensus in the sociology of ethnicity and nationalism, and to a lesser extent in the sociology of language, that dismisses language as an important feature of individual and collective identity. Language may well be contingent but it is not unimportant, as made clear by the many historical and contemporary ethnic and ethnonational movements and conflicts that focus on language. May argues that the causes of many of these language-based conflicts lie with the nation-state and its preoccupation with establishing a "common" language and culture via mass education.

Language and Minority Rights draws together debates on language from the sociology of language, ethnicity and nationalism, sociolinguistics, social and political theory, education, history and law, and encompasses a breadth of cross-national contexts and examples. It is essential reading for students, teachers and researchers in the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, ethnicity, nationalism, politics, education and language policy and planning.

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Book Review — *Biolinguistics*

Biolinguistics: exploring the biology of language.

Author: Lyle Jenkins.

Publisher: Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK; 2000, pp. 264.

Reviewed by: Gary Jaszewski, M.G.H.-N.M.R. Center, Harvard Medical School, Harvard, U.S.A.

The book reviewed argues for a biological approach to the study of language, and is largely a defense against the charge that Chomsky has been unsympathetic to the study of the biological basis of language. Jenkins addresses many of the arguments that Chomsky's detractors have proffered, including those from Bates, Deacon, Dennett, Pinker, and Seidenberg, among others. By presenting passages from Chomsky's first work in 1955 to the present, the author shows how Chomsky's views on the brain and the evolution of language have been misrepresented by these thinkers. Additionally, the author uses his extensive knowledge of the history of science to elaborate on these views by drawing comparisons between Chomsky's ideas and ideas within the hard sciences. In so doing, Jenkins hopes to demonstrate how linguists and anyone who studies humans "above the neck" are held to higher standards than their colleagues from physics, chemistry, etc. What emerges from this discussion is the view that Chomsky's approach to the study of language is a thoroughly biological one.

The book contains five chapters and an introduction. The first chapter focuses on foundational issues for a biolinguistic approach to language, such as the appropriate domain of biolinguistics, the proper methodology for exploring biolinguistic questions, and the nature of formalizations in linguistics. Throughout the book, Jenkins draws parallels between ideas in linguistics and the hard sciences to legitimize certain research strategies used in linguistics. For example, in physics, idealization of the domain of inquiry is commonplace and necessary. Thus, he suggests it should not be a source for complaint when the linguist does it. A major theme of this chapter is the "unification problem" — the attempt to unite the study of the mental with the natural sciences, and the ontological status of posited linguistic concepts or principles. Jenkins develops the idea that we must study the mind in the same way that we study other natural phenomena. To do otherwise commits us to what Chomsky calls "methodological dualism", the view that we must abandon scientific rationality when we study humans above the neck. Linguists are held to higher standards than other scientists, according to Jenkins, because they are often asked to demonstrate that some concept has some psychological or neurological reality. But this demand is not made of physicists or chemists. As Jenkins points out, the physicist Weinberg has gone so far as to claim that concepts such as quarks and wave functions are real just because they are theoretically useful. Linguistic concepts and principles that are theoretically useful are real in the same sense. Finally, Jenkins discusses the

charge that the formalizations used in linguistics are "soft mathematics" because they cannot be used to gain insight into other domains. This may be the case, argues Jenkins, but it is not necessarily so. The formalizations presently used in linguistics can be compared to the historically early formulations from other sciences, where the unification between mathematics and physical concepts has not always evolved smoothly. Jenkins shows how this was the case in the development of Fourier analysis. The same is likely true of linguistics, where at least one component (acoustics) already uses "hard mathematics".

The second chapter begins with a discussion of the five fundamental questions of biolinguistics:

1. What constitutes knowledge of language?
2. How is this knowledge acquired?
3. How is this knowledge put to use?
4. What are the relevant brain mechanisms?
5. How does this knowledge evolve (in the species)?

These questions (which might look familiar to the reader) are briefly described and prioritized, and a discussion of the contentious modularity issue is developed. Jenkins claims that we must assume a language faculty and modularity of mind to answer the first question, and cites various cases of aphasia, brain damaged signers, the neural mechanisms of smiling, and chromosome aberrations to show how aspects of the language faculty can be selectively impaired while the others remain intact. Interestingly, nearly all of the neuroscientific research cited by Jenkins is older than the earliest neuroimaging study of language (Peterson et al., 1988). It would be interesting to hear his interpretations of this growing body of literature. At least some of this research would support Jenkins: Jenkins discusses Zaidel's (1980) claim that since second languages may have different neural substrates than first languages a biologically determined UG is unlikely. But the neuroimaging research on bilinguals shows that this is actually not true; the L₂ of a highly proficient bilingual is represented in the same cortical space as that person's L₁.

The third chapter focuses on language acquisition. The author reviews the principles-and-parameters model and the poverty of the stimulus argument before devoting the rest of the chapter on the debate between the nativists and the connectionists. He examines some "misconceptions" of these connectionists culling them from the popular *Rethinking Innateness* (1996), which lists 12 arguments about innate representations that nativists allegedly hold. Jenkins addresses the charges that Chomsky believes that language is unlearnable and that there is a gene for grammar, relying on his extensive knowledge of genetics to show how genes and language abilities might interact. Connectionists have misrepresented Chomsky's views on these topics, according to Jenkins, and moreover, they resort to a poverty of the stimulus argument of their own when they posit innately biased algorithms that allow children to acquire language. He wonders if there is a difference between the camps on this issue, and suggests that the Elman, et al. (1996) book might be more appropriately called "Redefining Innateness". Jenkins then turns his attention Seidenberg's approach to the study of language, which has generated a lot of attention within cognitive science. Jenkins comes to the odd conclusion that Seidenberg hasn't established an alternative to biolinguistics.

The fourth chapter turns away from theoretical issues and to the neural and genetic mechanisms of language. Jenkins believes that the principles of UG are related to the brain much like Mendelian laws of genetics are related to genes, and shows how some grammar variations in our species appear to follow classical Mendelian laws. Issues surrounding genetic variation in U.G. are discussed. He suggests that identical twins with speech defects that are raised in different language contexts could reveal information about the parameters of U.G. The genetic aspects of developmental verbal

dyspraxia, dysphasia, and dyslexia are discussed, and a section on the molecular basis of the critical period for language acquisition and hemispheric asymmetries ends the chapter.

The final and longest chapter focuses on the what Jenkins calls the minimalist-internalist view of the evolution of language. Jenkins approaches this subject in a unique way, beginning with a very abstract discussion of the optimality of language design and on ideas that inform the minimalist program. The properties of organisms are rooted in nature, such as symmetry, and examples of symmetry-breaking phenomena from physics and biology are described. Jenkins believes that the properties of languages might be the result of similar "symmetry-breaking bifurcations" during its evolution, though this proposal lacks detail to be convincing. Jenkins then attacks the ultra-Darwinists (as represented by Dennett 1996, Pinker & Bloom 1990) for their methodological dualism and misrepresentation of Chomsky's views on this issue. Chomsky does not reject natural selection as a force in the evolution of language, just the idea that it is the only factor. The chapter ends with a discussion of primate communication and Deacon's (1997) view that language exists outside of the brain as a parasitic organism infecting the brains of children.

I found the book to be valuable for clarifying Chomsky's views on issues that are important in the study of cognition. Jenkins has done a service for linguists who might feel besieged by psychologists. Whereas Chomsky often shows how his ideas have parallels in the history of philosophy, Jenkins shows how they have parallels in the physical sciences. Jenkins' knowledge of the history of science and its relation to ideas in linguistics is the book's greatest strength. In order to appreciate Jenkins' arguments, however, the reader must have some knowledge of what Chomsky's detractors have said. The book is not for people new to such issues.

One problem with the book is that Jenkins defines the important term "biolinguistics" in several places of the book rather than at the start, forcing the reader to guess at its meaning. If there are differences between what Jenkins calls "biolinguistics" and what Chomsky does, they should be highlighted. Another weakness relates to the organization of the chapters. It is not always clear why Jenkins moves from one section to another. For example, in the language acquisition chapter he devotes a subheading to "the language instinct", which does not integrate with what precedes it, the apparent purpose of which is simply to demonstrate that Chomsky said it before Pinker.

Jenkins' arguments might be more persuasive if he were to acknowledge the value in the views that oppose his (Chomsky's) own. The biggest disappointment for me was Jenkins' handling of the connectionist/nativist debate. The constant use of scare quotes in this section seems excessive and to only serve the purpose of belittling the views of some connectionists. Considering the popularity of connectionist approaches to understanding cognition (in terms of funding, etc.), the view deserves to be dealt with seriously. Also lacking is a developed discussion of neuroimaging and biolinguistics. With the development of cognitive neuroscience in the last decade and its growing importance in understanding cognition, one would think that it is important that linguists have play a part in the design and interpretation of experiments. Jenkins appears to have a favorable view of imaging, and several times in the book refers to evidence garnered from imaging experiments, but unfortunately he does not discuss them in any detail nor their place in the biolinguistic program at all.

Chomsky has endorsed this book, recently calling it the "state of the art" (2000). It does a very good job of showing how Chomsky approaches the study of language like natural scientists from the hard sciences have approached their objects of study, how this approach is informed by what is known of our biology, and how some thinkers have misunderstood him and/or unwittingly emulated his

approach. It should be read by anyone interested in the biological basis of language.

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From: Ken Decker <ken_decker@sil.org>
Via Linguist list server

Book Review — Fishman

*Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited:
a 21st Century Perspective.*

Author: Fishman, Joshua A., ed.

Publisher: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2000; 503 pp.

I.S.B.N.: 1-85359-492-X

Reviewed by Ken Decker, S.I.L. International.

Description: Joshua Fishman has gathered together an impressive collection of studies to revisit and develop many of the issues he introduced in his 1991 book *Reversing Language Shift*. For a listing of contributors and chapter titles see <www.linguistlist.org/issues/11/11-2241.html#3>. In introductory chapters Fishman reviews this field of study and discusses the difficulties which confront those who attempt language shift reversal. Practical case studies are then presented from five continents. In conclusion, the issues are reviewed and Fishman evaluates progress in the field and proposes further efforts.

Fishman notes that the recent groundswell of interest in endangered languages and the rights of indigenous peoples contributes to a hope for reversing language shift (R.L.S.). However, as good as things may seem for endangered language groups, there are also many developments which further endanger and complicate efforts to reverse language shift. Fishman also addresses some arguments against R.L.S. He contends that the loss of a language diminishes language and cultural diversification. He explains that languages fulfill various functions for the needs and identity of a community, and another language cannot equally fulfill the functions. He asserts that R.L.S. is not anti-modern, it is not an attempt to isolate minority groups but to empower weaker communities in the decisions that affect their future. (For ease of discussion the following notations have been accepted: Xmen, or Xian, designating the minority group and Xish for the language; and Ymen, or Yian, for the dominant group and Yish for their language.)

These concepts of function and power are further discussed in their effect as the cause of shift in the first place, and how proponents of R.L.S. might deal with the pressures for shift. When there is contact with neighboring languages, these functions are likely to change, and probably with the stronger (Yish) language engaging more functions. Fishman contends that any effort to assist in R.L.S. must address this functional diversification of languages. He maintains that due to the inevitability of Yish serving some functions, there must be a sharing of power and control over which functions will be assigned to which language. It is the conflict over this control which makes R.L.S. so difficult.

With this introduction, 17 case studies are presented from around the globe. Twelve of these studies (Navajo, New York Puerto Rican Spanish, New York Yiddish, Quebec French, Irish, Frisian, Basque, Catalan, Hebrew, Australian immigrant and indigenous languages, and Maaori) are updates on research presented in "Reversing Language Shift" (1991). The other five studies (Otomi of Mexico, Quechua of South America, Oko of Nigeria, Andamanese) are new. Within each of the case studies is an evaluation of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (G.I.D.S.) which Fishman introduced in the previous volume. I will only describe three of the case studies here, chosen for the variation in their situations.

The Navajo are the largest Native American group in the United States, a country with strong expectations of English dominance. In Fishman 1991, Navajo was presented as a language in great danger. This provides an excellent case study since there are decades of research and there has been significant effort towards R.L.S. In this present volume, a thorough analysis is given of the domains of language usage and factors relevant to the G.I.D.S. While there are many areas in which there is improvement in environment for R.L.S., there continues to be shift in one critical area: "the transmission of the language from one generation to the next inside the family, neighborhood, and community contexts". As Fishman states it (p. 14) — parents must teach the language to their children as a first language. Lee and McLaughlin conclude with their recommendations for the future.

In the earlier volume, Fishman (1991) presented Catalan as a success story, having passed through the "dangerous sections of the difficult path" of R.L.S. The Catalan example is quite different from Navajo as it has a long history of political and literary strength. Overt political efforts to marginalize Catalan lasted for only 40 years. While those 40 years of oppression had their damaging effects on the vitality of the language, there were no major barriers to the restoration of most functions of the language when the restrictions were removed. Fishman maintained that as good as things may seem for Catalan, there were still very real R.L.S. issues to be considered. While the author of this new study, Strubell, agrees with Fishman's evaluation of Catalan as stage 1 in the G.I.D.S. scale, elsewhere in the text he sounds less sanguine. Strubell's approach in his chapter is not so much to talk about the vitality of Catalan or R.L.S. activities there, but to evaluate some of the positions on R.L.S. taken by Fishman in his first volume. While he tends to agree with positions put forward by Fishman, he makes frequent recommendations for further research to improve the theories and understanding of the processes involved in language shift. On the topic of Catalan vitality he quotes Prats (1990) as saying that "To defy history, leading people to believe that we shall be the first to maintain the balanced coexistence of two languages in a given territory, is an error which will be paid for dearly". And then he proceeds to question if the R.L.S. "success" described by Fishman (1991) has really been achieved; that would be a monolingual society. While there are greater language choice options available, Prats et al. (1990) contend that bilingualism is not a stable situation, that Spanish is more dominant, and contact is "disastrous for Catalan". This would only seem to underline Fishman's statement in an earlier section (p. 12) that R.L.S. "requires making constant and repeated efforts".

A new, and welcome, study, not covered in the previous volume, concerns the Oko language of Nigeria. I say "welcome" because it involves a situation I find interesting and valuable: a non-western language in a country that is highly multilingual. The author, E. Adegbija, presents an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the Oko-speaking community and the other languages which compete for currency. There are no overt R.L.S. efforts being made in the community. The author describes the vitality, or more specifically the endangerment, of Oko relative to the stages of the G.I.D.S. Throughout this report the author repeatedly identifies English, and to some degree Yoruba, as languages with great prestige for the upward social and economic mobility they afford. Of greatest concern is that Oko, as well as many African languages, is primarily defined at Stage 6; children are not learning Oko in many homes. The author then discusses cultural, linguistic, and politically-oriented strategies for addressing R.L.S. in the home. The chapter concludes with five further suggested strategies that could be a part of R.L.S. for endangered languages in Africa.

Fishman concludes with his own evaluation of the studies presented and the issues that continue to drive R.L.S. efforts. He confronts attitudes against R.L.S. efforts and evaluates how the G.I.D.S. has been used and could be improved. I especially appreciate his perspective that many R.L.S.ers themselves have difficulty articulating the value of R.L.S. efforts. His response is clear, "The struggle for R.L.S. is a struggle for a more humane humanity all over the world". And finally, in answer to the question in the title, "Can threatened languages be saved?" Fishman replies with an "uncertain" yes, and stresses that it must be done through careful, focused strategies.

Evaluation: I share in the concerns for endangered languages, and the values of those who are concerned about rights of communities to maintain their language. It is true that many groups feel that they have no choice, and their rights need to be defended. But advocates of these fields of study seem to forget that not all cultures consider language to be an integral part of their identity, nor do they feel that they lose anything in language shift. Therefore, when Krauss (1992) points out that hundreds of Native American languages are dying, that says nothing to me about whether it is a positive or negative shift for those people. It may be a loss to the academic linguistic community, but

our focus should stick with the "democratic belief in the inherent right of all peoples to self-determination and self-emancipation". (Lee and McLaughlin, this volume p. 41). Thus, I feel the shrill voice of some extreme activists decrying the "doom" and "death" of most languages, only seems to hurt the cause of concern for groups which want to engage in R.L.S.

That said, Fishman has presented an excellent manual for guiding those who would engage in R.L.S. activities. While being honest concerning the great hurdles which are to be overcome, Fishman, and the contributing authors, give hope that language shift can be reversed. The case studies do much more than simply apply Fishman's earlier model to present day situations. The theories are evaluated from quite different situations and other theories are presented.

The balance of concerns for all languages involved in any multilingual situation can become very problematic. Fishman points out that most languages cannot consider their positions to be completely secure. This was highlighted in the Catalan situation. The R.L.S. efforts in Catalonia seem to be more an issue of Catalan hegemony over Spanish-speaking immigrants to the region. Should another group start R.L.S. activities among the Spanish-speaking immigrants to Catalonia? If political policy requires bilingualism, and if bilingualism is never stable, one of the languages will inevitably be less equal. Such a situation might end up in a war over who will influence who. And in fact, Strubell mentions (p. 273) some of the present political tension in Spain.

I think the assertion in the Catalan study of inherent instability of bilingual situations, and a goal of monolingualism should be questioned. There has been much written on the stability of diglossic situations. Much of what Fishman seems to say is based on the value of stable bilingualism, including bilingualism of Yians in Xish. However, I am confused by Fishman's assertion (p. 465) that R.L.S. cannot depend on Yish support, but elsewhere (including the G.I.D.S.) he says that Yish support is required. Fishman, and the various case studies, frequently point to the problem that the dominant language community holds power over the endangered language. Fishman states that R.L.S. efforts depend on the dominant language to help, or at least permit, R.L.S. efforts in Xish to enable success. But I didn't see any efforts in any of the case studies to educate Xians to see and embrace the benefits of bilingualism.

Fishman confesses (p. 469) that he had limited knowledge of "intra-Stage 6 [G.I.D.S.] socio-functional differentiation in connection with inter-generational mother tongue transmission" and requests recommendations for further research. My 1992 Masters thesis (Decker 1992) explored the possibility of developing a quantifiable method of measuring language vitality. My approach was to look for evidence of any factors that were significant to the maintenance of the language. I used Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor's (1977) taxonomy of variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality. (Bourhis, himself a contributor to this volume on French in Quebec, also uses this taxonomy). In light of the importance of transmission of the language in the intimate environments of the home and neighborhood, I think that there is a great relevance to studying key variables that motivate people to maintain their language, and then focus R.L.S. efforts on reinforcing those factors.

Lee and McLaughlin, writers of the Navajo study, make the plea that "[o]ur work must not only serve as an incitement for discourse but also as an incitement to action". I know that discussion concerning dying languages has led some universities to encourage thesis and dissertation materials to focus on documentation of these languages, rather than only theoretical topics. Maybe it is time for a scholarly recognition of those who conduct activities which promote R.L.S. and language maintenance of minority languages, like universities which grant degrees for "life accomplishments".

I take a small issue with the implication that Fishman, and the scholars associated with this volume, are the first and few to address the needs of endangered language groups; S.I.L. International has been working for over seven decades in more than 1500 language groups, many of which would be considered as endangered languages. Many of these languages have been provided with the tools and support necessary for R.L.S.

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